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NUMBER 1

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THE MARTYRS OF NEW FRANCE*

I

The era of the martyrs began in 1642. It was started by the Iroquois, not the Hurons. At that time there was a considerable number of Christians among the Hurons, who had been won over gradually by the influence of the missionaries. Alliance with them afforded the French colony access to the Great Lakes. But at the same time the Iroquois, their enemies, and on that account the enemies of the French, placed our settlements in extreme peril. "The five Iroquois nations, autonomous but federated, were ranged on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and on the Mohawk River from Niagara to the Hudson. They had an opening on the Great Lakes and also on the Mississippi; they had one, by way of the St. Lawrence, to the Atlantic. Two thousand five hundred Iroquois warriors spread out over more than four hundred kilometres, fleet of foot and skilled in navigation, terrorized Algonquins and Hurons,"1 At the beginning of the colony they had made Champlain uneasy. However, he would have made it his business to exterminate them or "to make them come to reason" if the mother country had sent him only one hundred and twenty armed men. France did not grant this modest aid, and the English and the Dutch, already our rivals, soon perceived how useful the Iroquois would be to them in making precarious and even discouraging altogether our efforts in the basin of the St. Lawrence. "Among the unusually great difficulties which obstruct the progress of His divine Majesty's

^{*}The Canonization at Rome of eight North American Martyrs, June 29, 1930, is an event of supreme interest for all Americans whether inside or outside the Church. The scholarly and carefully documented article on these intrepid pioneers of civilization and the Faith by M. Georges Rigault which is here set before our readers was first published in a volume appearing in 1926, Martyrs de la Nouvelle France. (Vol. I., Bibliothèque des Missions; Memoires et documents, "Editions spes," 17 Rue Soufflot, Paris, VI). The translation from the French is by Miss Nancy Ring, A. M. (St. Louis University).

¹ Georges Goyau, Les Origines Religieuses du Canada, p. 144.

business," wrote Father Jerome Lalemant to Richelieu in March, 1640, "is the proximity of the English and the Flemish, who buoy up and powerfully confirm the courage of the enemies of our allies." The Dutch of New Amsterdam furnished arquebuses to the savages. We would not, on the contrary, entrust firearms to any but native Christians and this prudence, justified in principle for the Indians were grown-up children and terrible ones at that, was turned against us.

In the Relation of 1641 Father Vimont sounded the alarm: "New France is going to destruction if she is not given prompt and vigorous succor. The commerce of these Gentlemen (the Hundred Associates), the French colony, and the religion which is beginning to flourish among the savages are at an end if the Iroquois are not subdued. Fifty Iroquois are capable of driving as many as two hundred and fifty Frenchmen from the field unless there is question of fighting in the open. In a battle in the open, of course fifty Frenchmen can put to rout five hundred Iroquios unless the Dutch have given them fire-arms. Once the Indians turn in fury on us French, they give us no rest; an Iroquois will remain for two or three days without eating, hidden behind a log within fifty feet of your house in order to massacre the first person who falls into his ambush. If he is discovered, the woods offer him a refuge. Where a Frenchman finds nothing but obstacles, the Indian leaps lightly as a deer. How can we live in this anxiety? If this tribe does not become friendly, or if it is not exterminated, we shall have to abandon the good neophytes to their cruelty, many bright hopes will be extinguished, and we must needs see the devils recover their empire."3

To win over the Iroquois had been the earnest wish of the colony, but it had no success in its efforts to do so. To destroy them and through them to strike at New Holland and the Company of the Indies, it was necessary to secure the permission and the aid of the royal government. But at Paris the undertaking was considered dangerous and a decision was postponed. In 1642 the foundation of Villemarie [Montreal] and the construction of Fort Richelieu provided at least some protection against the ravagers.

² Jerome Lalemant à Richelieu, 28 mars 1640 (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XVII, pp. 218-225), cited by Goyau, p. 145.

³ Cited by Goyau, p. 146.

In the face of this [merely] defensive stand the Iroquois took the initiative and were able to get Jogues and then Bressani into their hands. The Dutch, who from political motives armed the wretches, had at least the humanity to intervene in behalf of the victims and successively rescued the two Jesuits—but in what a plight!—from the clutches of the Iroquois.

A great hope dawned the 12th of July, 1645, when the Iroquois Kiotsaeton, ambassador of the Agniers [Mohawk] nation, presented himself at Three Rivers before M. de Montmagny, governor of New France, M. de Champflour, commandant of the place, Father Vimont and Father Jogues. The peace, concluded in two days, was ratified three months later in a general assembly of the Iroquois federation, at which Montmagny presided.

From that moment the Jesuits longed to carry the Gospel to this apparently now better-disposed tribe. The mission to be founded among them was to bear the name of Mission of the Martyrs. In placing it under the protection of those who in heavenly speculation wear the blood-stained robe they wished at the same time to predict the future and commemorate the past. Of course Bressani and Jogues had not consummated their sacrifice: but René Goupil, the young servant of the Society of Jesus, and companion of Isaac Jogues in his experiences of 1642, had been slain by the blow of a hatchet before the eyes of the Father on September 29 of that very year.

Presently Father Jogues went to shed the remainder of his blood for God in the land of his initial sufferings. In the month of May, 1646, accompanied by the engineer Jean Bourdon he had gone to the Iroquois country in order to survey the ground and had been well received by his old captors, the Agniers [Mohawks]. Yet Jogues, knowing the fickle nature and the deeprooted perfidy of the savages, had no feeling of security. When he was setting out on his third and last journey to the Iroquois he wrote to one of his brethren: "Ibo et non redibo" ("I will go and shall not return"). As a matter of fact the following October he was massacred, as well as his companion, Jean de La Lande.

By the murder of these two Frenchmen the Iroquois belied their pledges and ushered in the final struggle against the Hurons. The Jesuit missions between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario were caught in the disaster of the French allies. And this

⁴ Goyau, op. cit., p. 184.

misfortune came at the very hour of their greatest spiritual prosperity.

From the time Father Jerome Lalemant took over the direction of these Huron missions they were methodically organized. A complete enumeration was made of the villages and even of the "cabins, the fires and almost the population of the entire country." Greatly helped by this register, the missionaries swarmed from the central residence of Sainte Marie in five evangelizing groups to the principal villages. In 1640 Lalemant could send word to Cardinal Richelieu that "we have preached the Gospel to more that ten thousand savages, not only in general but to each family and almost to each person in particular."

In 1648 the Huron missions, numbering seventeen Fathers under the authority of Father Ragueneau, were established in ten villages. Their material wants were entrusted to servants who were not members of the religious community but had voluntarily offered themselves for life to the service of the Society of Jesus. They fished and hunted to provide food for the residence, and they were armed to defend it against attack. They were called "donnés." Their status had at first seemed strange and irregular to the General of the Jesuits and it met with his disapproval. Afterwards, when he was more fully informed, he realized that it filled a need in Canada. Goupil and La Lande, the two young men killed by the Iroquois, and Couture, who like Goupil had been taken with Father Jogues in 1642, were donnés.

In twenty months the invaders brought about the ruin of so much good realized, of so many hopes for the future. The Hurons allowed themselves to be surprised and the Jesuits could improvise no adequate defence. On July 14, 1648, the residence of Saint Joseph was burned, the inhabitants were massacred or carried away in slavery, and the pastor, Father Antoine Daniel, was killed by the shot of an arquebus and his body thrown in the flames. On March 16, 1649, the village of St. Ignace was destroyed in like manner. The next day the Iroquois attacked St. Louis, where Father Brébeuf and a young religious who had arrived six months before, Father Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Jerome and of Charles [Lalemant], were living. St. Louis was taken in the third assault and the two Jesuits expired in the most frightful tortures.

⁸ Goyau, p. 140.

After their frontier towns were in the power of the enemy the Hurons lost all will to defend themselves. They themselves burned their fifteen villages which had remained intact. Then some made their way towards the "mountains of Petun," others towards the Neutral Nation, while still others succeeded in settling among the Iroquois. Three hundred refugee families on the Isle of St. Joseph asked the missionaries to come to them. The missionaries did so after having on June 14, 1649, destroyed their residence of St. Marie, which could be held no longer.

The Petun nation (so-called by the French because of its numerous tobacco plantations), relatives and neighbors of the Hurons, whose language they spoke, did not long remain safe from the Iroquois, to whom victory and pillage had given an appetite for new violence. The Jesuits also had a mission among the Petuns. On December 7, 1649, this residence of St. Jean was attacked by the Iroquois and Father Charles Garnier died with his flock. The day after the morrow this list of victims was burdened with still another name. Father Noël Chabanel, who shared the labors of Father Garnier, had been recalled by the Superior several days before the capture of St. Jean. During his journey he was assassinated by a Huron apostate who, blaming the Jesuits for the misfortunes of his family, avenged himself on one of them.

The last page of this lamentable but supernaturally glorious history was written in the Spring of 1650 when the missionaries brought to Quebec the Huron, whom they could no longer support on the Isle of St. Joseph. Six hundred of them settled on the Isle of Orleans near the French town [Quebec].

However, this was not the conclusion of the Iroquois wars nor a final resting place for the surviving Hurons. In 1651 and in 1652 Villemarie [Montreal] would have been lost but for the heroism of Major Closse and his handful of soldiers. During this same period Father Buteux, Superior of the Residence of Three Rivers, was met by a band of Iroquois while he was on an adventurous trip to the North to conquer new tribes for the Faith. He was shot twice, then killed, and his body thrown in the river.

Four years later the Agniers hurled themselves on the Isle of Orleans and took sixty Huron prisoners, obliging the unfortunate people to search elsewhere for a home. They put to death a Jesuit Brother near Sillery while on the Ottawa River

Father Leonard Garreau was fatally wounded. When the Sulpicians, fulfilling the wishes and obeying the orders of their founder, became the educators of the Canadian clergy, they, too, had their victims at the hand of the Iroquois, M. Vignal and M. Lemaître.

Shall not the wolves, changed to sheep, some day come into the sheep-fold in peace? New France does not despair. From 1656 to 1658 there was an Iroquois mission near Lake Gannentaha. But the Agniers persuaded the Confederation to take active measures against the preachers of Christ. Warned by friendly chiefs, the missionaries had to take to flight secretly in order to avert a massacre which would have been the signal for a new war.

Better times were to come. In 1669 Marie de l'Incarnation could write that "the Iroquois are yielding to our holy faith," that they "bring their children to be baptized" and "are becoming attentive to prayer and instruction." A providential lull, which was to be followed by difficult times, by a recrudescence of treachery and by battles, but which facilitated the conversion of many a savage, the settlement on the soil of many a French family, the peopling and civilization of that Canada for the sake of which Franciscans, Jesuits, Sulpicians, soldiers, French colonists and native Christians had shed their blood.

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Among these victims the Jesuits of the Huron Missions have always held a preeminent position in the memories of men and in the veneration of the faithful. Their brethren and their contemporaries from the first held them to be true martyrs nor have historians withheld that title. Whenever their bodies could be recovered, they were considered rare relics. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son, Dom Claude Martin, October 22, 1649: "Our Foundress [Mme de la Peltrie] sends you some relics of our holy martyrs, but she does so secretly because the Reverend Fathers did not wish to give us any for fear we might send them to France."

The bones of Father Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel Lalemant had been taken to Quebec where the skull of Brébeuf was preserved, at the Hôtel-Dieu, in the plinth of a silver bust given by

⁶ Marie de l'Incarnation à la Superieure des Ursulines de Mons, ler octobre 1669. Cited by Goyau, op. cit., p. 236.

his family. Father Garnier was buried where he fell. When peace came, they wished to exhume his body in order to give it proper burial. However, nothing but a few bones were found, which were added to the relics of the two other Jesuits. As the bodies of Jogues, de La Lande and Chabanel had been thrown in the river by the Indians, that of René Goupil stolen by them, and that of Antoine Daniel totally consumed by fire, the devotion of the faithful had nothing left to venerate of what had been here below the human wrapping of these servants of God.

Devotion to the martyrs was very much alive, nevertheless, and quite widespread. In 1664 a History of the Missions of Canada written by Father Ducreux contained a print representing the martyrdom of the missionaries. This sketch was spread about profusely; it may be seen at the beginning of the History of New France by Father Charlevoix, edition of 1774. Prayers to the martyrs were said in private oratories and many cures, spiritual graces and conversions of heretics obtained through their intercession. Father Daniel, shining in glory, appeared to Father Chaumonot; he appeared in the midst of a council of Jesuits and fired them wih the spirit of God. In 1663, while terrible earth-quakes were shaking Canada, Mother Catherine de Saint-Augustin, hospital nun of Quebec, saw St. Michael and Father de Brébeuf in the heavens restraining the divine wrath.

Jean Cavelier, alderman of the town of Caen and printer to the King and the University, extolled the great Brébeuf thus in a Latin inscription which adorns the tomb of the Brébeuf brothers, Guillaume, author of the *Pharsale*, and Nicolas, prior curé of the parish, in the church of Saint-Gerbold in Venoix: "New France welcomed him as another Paul and a worthy brother of Xavier. After he had suffered the most horrible tortures, been roasted in slow fires and burned with fiery hatchets, he was taken to heaven: an admirable example of Christian strength and heroic virtue." Around his relics the Hospital nuns of Quebec made thanksgiving. Every year on the 16th of March, the anniversary of his death, they communicate; and this pious custom, recorded by Mother Juchereau de Saint-Ignace, annalist

⁷ Declarationes martyrii servorum Dei J. de Brébeuf et sociorum e. Soc. Jesu. Processus apostolicus super martyrio. Valiquet deposition.

⁸ Goyau, op. cit., p. 241.

⁹ Processus apostolicus. Scott and Roy deposition. The inscription was replaced in the church when it was rebuilt in 1875.

of the community in the seventh century, is in vogue to this day.10

The thought of obtaining from Rome official recognition of the sanctity of Brébeuf and his companions and authorization to render them public worship must have come very early. It was, doubtless, for this reason that Father Ragueneau composed the manuscript of which a copy, properly certified by himself and Father Poncet under oath, was kept by the Jesuits of Quebec until the suppression of the Society. It was then confided to the nuns of the Hospital and later restored by them to the Fathers, who placed it in the archives of their college of Sainte-Marie [Montreal]. 11 The Relations of 1649 to 1657 incorporate all the contents of this document, but it itself remains a legacy and a precious testimonial from the first apostles of Canada. The pages wherein Father Jogues recounts the life and death of René Goupil, the original text of which is also preserved at Sainte-Marie, serve to bring to light the real sanctity, the real martyrdom of the young "donné."

It seems indeed that a preliminary inquiry was ordered in 1653 by the Archbishop of Rouen, whose jurisdiction extended at that time to New France. Depositions were made and in a work written at the close of the last century Father Martin declared that he had seen the documents indorsed with the autograph of Father Ragueneau. Did he simply intend to mention the manuscript of which there is question above? Or have these documents been lost for thirty years? In any case, we find no more traces today of the Rouen inquiry.

The Primate of Normandy was so far away that his jurisdiction over Canada could be little more than theoretical. In 1658 New France was made a Vicariate-Apostolic and Msgr. de Montigny-Laval, its first bishop, was consecrated on December 8 in the Parisian church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. This event explains the stopping of the process at Rouen and the oblivion which shortly overtook this premature endeavor in the cause of our martyrs.

¹⁰ Processus apostolicus. Scott deposition.

¹¹ Processus apostolicus. Melancon deposition.

¹² Hurons et Iroquois, by Father Martin, 3rd edition, 1898, p. 288. Processus apostolicus, deposition of M. Roy, archivist of the province of Quebec.

¹⁸ Same deposition.

If the question was not brought up again in the course of the eighteenth century, we must blame the times rather than the religious, successors of the heroic pioneers, or the Catholics, who had profited by their devotion. During this period Canada experienced incessant wars between French and English colonies, dissensions between ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the absence of bishops, and finally subjugation to a powerful Protestant power against which consciences had to be guarded and the faith preserved. When Clement XIV, under pressure from France, Spain and Portugal withdrew from the Society of Jesus its canonical existence, it seemed indeed that the hour had passed for rendering to the Jesuits of the seventeenth century the justice they had waited for so long.

Meanwhile their fame did not fade away. Canada remained faithful to them, and France, also, remembered something of their services and their sublime end. In 1800 a French missionary, M. de Calonne, who had come to Prince Edward Island, besought the Archbishop of Quebec to give him the relics of Brébeuf, "first apostle of Canada, martyred on the 16th of March." ¹⁴ Chateaubriand picked up and diffused, in sonorous echo, the popular tradition when, in his Natchez, he makes Father Souel say: "But so great a blessing is not reserved for all. It is not for me to aspire to the glory of Brébeuf and of Jogues, who died for the faith in America." ¹⁵ The generations of French-Canadians who have followed one another during the past two hundred and seventy-five years have in turn attested the perpetuity of their national tradition on the subject of the martyrs. ¹⁶

On this point they are in accord with the Protestants. We already know the opinion of the historians, Bancroft and Parkman. That of the Primate of the Anglican Church, the Reverend Mr. Randall, Archbishop of Canterbury, must not be overlooked. In 1904 in a sermon given at Quebec he paid tribute to the faith which fired the hearts of Goupil, Jogues, Lalemant, Brébeuf and Daniel in their martyrdom. Seven years later, speaking this time to the English, he compared the names of the

¹⁴ Processus apostolicus. Roy deposition.
Father Arthur Melancon in his deposition. Processus apostolicus.

¹⁵ Chateaubriand, les Natchez, livre III, p. 161, ed. 1863. Cited by 16 Roy deposition.

Jesuit martyrs to those of the Lawrences, the Cyprians, the Blandinas. 17

It has pleased the Catholics to attribute to the intercession of the martyrs the respect for the Roman religion and its public worship which is evidenced by their "separated brethren" as also the great liberty which the Church enjoys in Canada. In 1883 a very formal declaration to this effect was made by the clergy of Quebec in a supplication to the Holy See.¹⁸

Goupil, Jogues and La Lande were martyred in the territory of the United States, at Auriesville, near Albany (New York State). A very plain chapel has been built there under the name of Our Lady of Martyrs. The Jesuits have made of it a place of pilgrimage and publish at Auriesville The Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs, a bulletin in which the temporal and spiritual favors which the pilgrims are conscious of having received are recorded. More than ten thousand visit the church annually.

Also in the United States there originated a desire to see the images of Father Jogues and his two companions placed on the altars. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1884, asked permission of the Sovereign Pontiff to bring their cause before the Roman tribunals.

The Canadian Church and the Society of Jesus, the latter of which had come again to the banks of the St. Lawrence toward the middle of the nineteenth century, could do no less for the other missionaries, victims of Indian paganism. At the same time as the Council of Baltimore the Seventh Provincial Council of Quebec initiated proceedings with the Holy See. The proceedings were renewed in 1909. In the month of March, 1912, a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites authorized the introduction of the cause of beatification of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier, and Noël Chabanel. The decree of August 9, 1916, was favorable to the postulatum of the Baltimore Council. Since that time the examination of the joint causes has been actively pursued and there is hope of a favorable conclusion in the near future. From the depositions gathered in the course of the

¹⁷ Citations furnished by Father Melancon in his deposition.

¹⁸ Melancon deposition.

¹⁹ Processus apostolicus. Roy deposition. Turcot deposition.

²⁰ Since the writing of these pages our Martyrs were proclaimed Blessed on June 21, 1925 and were canonized June 29, 1930.

apostolic process, which we have here the honor and the joy of utilizing, it seems likely that the title of martyr will be given to Brébeuf and the others of the Huron mission, to Jogues and the two "donnés" Goupil and de La Lande, in the same sense in which it is used in the liturgy of the Catholic Church when she honors the victims of the bloody persecutions set on foot by the Roman emperors. The parallel established by the Anglican archbishop does not elicit objection from a single theologian. Like St. Cyprian, St. Lawrence and St. Blandina, Brébeuf, Jogues and their companions in suffering and glory were immolated in hatred of the faith. Their death was the death of the saints, precious in the sight of the Lord, because it evinced the truthfulness of a testimony rendered in favor of the faith and was the greatest proof of love that man can give to the Divine Friend, Jesus Christ.

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Doubtless anyone examining the matter only superficially might believe that the Iroquois slew the Jesuits simply in obedience to their barbarous custom. Not only among the Iroquois tribes, but among the Algonquins and Hurons as well, a prisoner of war was atrociously tortured before being slain. And even though the Indians were not in ordinary times cannibalistic, having, like the Europeans, respect for human corpses and taking particular care of their dead, they did not hesitate to devour the flesh of their enemies, to eat morsels of it before the very eyes of their still-living, miserable captives, and finally to devour the heart of any captive who had fought with valor and had endured torture without shrinking, hoping thus to assimilate the blood of heroes.

The missionaries, representing a European nation whose establishment of themselves in the basin of the St. Lawrence the Iroquois were unwilling to endure and who were hosts and friends to the Hurons, whom the Iroquois had sworn to exterminate or to merge with their own confederation, evidently came into collision with national hostility. When made prisoners, their fate was the fate of their native allies, pagan Hurons and Christian Hurons.

Here are facts beyond dispute. An explanation of them must be furnished without gaps and without error. The Iroquois fought the French but, as remarked by Father Bressani,²¹ there was here no racial antipathy: the Dutch and later the English, Europeans like ourselves, allied themselves with the savages and employed them precisely for their evil designs against the French colony. The Iroquois considered us their enemies because our Canadian policy, based entirely in this matter on religious considerations, dictated to us peace with the Hurons, whom we wished to convert. Consequently, in a certain, although indirect, manner, the preaching of the Gospel exposed the missionaries of France to the terrible reprisals of the Indians, and our country would have met with less opposition if it had, in its relations with the savages, been interested in commerce only.

From hatred of the French Christian the Iroquois passed easily to hatred of Christianity. This religion, which forbade cruelty, lying, vengeance, which humbled pride and mortified the passions of the flesh, must needs from the very start be suspected by these pagans, who, indeed, were not without the natural virtues, being brave, hospitable, helpful, but were a prey to all the vices of miserable humanity, and quite incapable of virtues which presuppose any effort. "There is nothing so disagreeable to us as your doctrine when we first hear it," said the Algonquins to Father Jogues. And as this was the time when he was preparing to return to the Iroquois to seal the peace of 1645, his conductors exhorted him to leave off his "long robe" which "preached even as his mouth did." He took their advice, resolved to "become infirm to the infirm" and to "conduct himself among the wicked as one does among heretics." And this time as a simple ambassador of New France but not openly as an apostle, he performed his entire journey without encumbrance,22

These strangers who brought with them so strict a morality and whose teachings were so novel that the native language had not the words required to explain them were soon regarded by the savages as malevolent beings. Constant accusations of magic were made against the missionaries, the more readily as the local sorcerers saw in them irreconcilable enemies. We find

²¹ Bressani, Relation brève. Cited by Sister Marie-Joseph (Angelia Turcot), of the Monastery of the Hotel-Dieu of the Precious Blood, of Quebec, in her deposition. Processus apostolicus.

²² Relation of 1646. Cited by Sister Marie-Joseph in her deposition. *Processus apostolicus*.

in certain stories which were circulated among the Hurons a remote and curious echo of the accusations which the pagans of Rome made against the Christians of the first centuries. It was alleged that the missionaries kept the dead body of a little child in the tabernacle. Thence came the contagions which afflicted the people.

The Relation of 1637 says on this subject: "This is a time when the most adorable mysteries are under suspicion and those who preach them are regarded as so many sorcerers and poisoners. It is not only in this country that we have this reputation. These false rumors have also gone abroad to other nations." ²³

The pagan or apostate Hurons did not fail to slander the missionaries to all their neighbors. When, in 1640, Jogues and Garnier went into the Blue Mountains, where the Petun Nation lived, their detestable reputation had preceded them. So, rebuffed in many a hut, barely subsisting, and manifestly odious to all their hosts, they had to withdraw at the end of five months. The Iroquois were also roused against the Jesuits by the Hurons whom they had captured or who had settled amongst them, and who hoped to soften the rage of their conquerors or to gain the confidence of their new fellow citizens by revealing to them the crimes of the "Black Robes." It is note-worthy that among the executioners of the Fathers we frequently find Hurons who know enough of the beliefs and rites of Catholicity to make a mockery of them or seek therein for ingenious and horrible devices of unspeakable tortures.

Besides the natives, the Dutch, civilized Europeans whom the French had helped against Spain in their war of liberation and who at this epoch remained, theoretically at least, our allies, men of pleasant mien and prudent conduct, share in the responsibility of the Iroquois abominations, the blood of the martyrs being in a measure upon their heads. This at any rate would seem to be borne out by events and testimonies of the day. Supplying the savages with arms and munitions was the act of greedy merchants and unscrupulous politicians, the proceeding of ill-disposed neighbors and a sort of treason against humanity. Theology is not directly engaged in this question. But the Dutch Calvinists had no fondness for the Jesuits, the most redoubtable adversaries of Protestant heresy, and they did not think it wrong to slander them in order to rouse up the Iroquois

²³ Processus apostolicus. Turcot deposition.

against their preaching and their influence. In view of the savage mentality, such talk was equal to a death-warrant for the missionaries.

The colonists of New Holland used particularly dangerous and regrettable terms regarding the sign of the cross. A Huron Christian who had been taken prisoner with Father Jogues but had made his escape, reported that a Dutchman said to him when he made the sign of the cross before meals: "that is not a good thing to do." ²⁴ The Calvinists assured the Iroquois that the sign of the cross was a superstition, and the Iroquois concluded that it meant bad luck. So they killed René Goupil for tracing it on the forehead of a little child.

IV

All this predisposed the Iroquois nations to persecute the missionaries: their enmity against the Hurons and the French, their affiliation with the Dutch through being neighbors and because of trade. Their pagan souls subjugated, in the language of the seventeenth century, by Satan since the original fall were plunged into an anti-Christian, anti-Catholic atmosphere. And their natural cruelty became exaggerated in diabolical fashion against their victims who used the sign of Christ.

This is why baptized savages were often themselves called on to bear witness to the Faith in the midst of torture. In extracts from the Relations one may see the story of Eustache Ahatsistari, one of the Hurons who was taken prisoner with Father Jogues. In 1650, a young Algonquin, Joseph Onaharé, a captive of the Iroquois, thanked God for having given him faith and baptism. He prayed in a loud voice to encourage his comrades, exhorting them to suffer with constancy the torments which were prepared for them. The Iroquois forbade him to speak thus. He paid no attention to their commands and torture left him unmoved. Then, surrounded by infuriated torturers, he continued to sing the praises of God during three days and three nights. "Tell your God to come and release you," jeered the Iroquois, using the words that the Pharisees and the high-priests cast at Our Lord on the cross. The Algonquin replied: "I thank You, my God, that You have given me grace to suffer not as a savage, but as a Christian." And he expired in these sentiments of a true martyr.25

Relation of 1643. Processus apostolicus. Turcot deposition.
 Relation of 1650. Processus apostolicus. Devine deposition.

We see here clearly the new relationship that Christianity established between torturers and victims. As of yore, the prisoner is burned by a slow fire, torn to bits, and despatched by the blows of a hatchet. But he suffers for the love of God, while previously he had chanted and danced in the midst of his tortures in order to defy his enemies and to assert the heroism of his race. And the torturers, infuriated by this strange attitude, are not merely barbarians who take an atrocious pleasure in human suffering. They are enraged madmen who howl and froth before a superior power and who attempt to exorcise it by refining the torments.

From this we comprehend that the capture and the putting to death of a missionary were events of a very special sort to the Iroquois. The savages wished to become masters of these extraordinary men, "sorcerers," as they called them. To humiliate these men abjectly, to bow them beneath the rod, to disfigure them, to reduce them to a state of miserable tatters, was a joyful revenge. "As soon as we were taken," wrote Father Bressani, "the Iroquois uttered horrible cries and gave thanks to the sun for having delivered to them a Black Robe." 26 But that the victory might be incontestably gained by the flesh over the spirit, by the slave of the passions over the preacher who came to bring spiritual liberty, the strange victim needs break down and implore the pity of his torturers. The savages accordingly became ingenious in prolonging his life while increasing at the same time his agony. Their rage waxed hotter with the fortitude of their victim. If they killed him, it was in despair of their cause and with regret at the thought that he was definitely out of their hands, yet always with relief that they themselves had remained safe from his grasp.

It is easy to conduct all this analysis in connection with the martyrdom of Father de Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel Lalemant. Father de Brébeuf did not cease to preach the Gospel until the barbarians pulled out his tongue and plunged a fiery iron down his throat. In derision of baptism they sprinkled him with boiling water. Then, after having burned him, dismembered him, hacked him to pieces, they tore out his heart, and, constrained to render homage in their fashion to this sublime virtue, they drank his still warm blood, that blood which ought, in their opinion, to create in them a superhuman strength.

²⁶ Relation brève. Processus apostolicus. Turcot deposition.

Father Gabriel Lalemant was of a weakly constitution, "the most feeble and delicate man one could have seen," wrote Marie de l'Incarnation.27 The Iroquois supposed that this frail nature would give them the joy of a victory. They allowed him to kneel down, to kiss the sacrificial stake, and to say to Father de Brébeuf, who had already had his lips cut off and his cheeks split from ear to ear, "now, Father, are we a spectacle to Heaven, to angels and to men."28 At the supreme hour divine grace made this young bourgeois Parisian the equal of the robust Norman gentleman, the untiring Brébeuf. Red-hot awls, a necklace of white-hot axes, fire-brands, baptism with boiling water, all were resorted to in his torture. They wrapped him in blazing pine bark. They chopped off his nose and his tongue. They cut open his mouth. They slashed at his skull. The whole length of his left leg was cut open to the bone and a scorching hatchet run up and down in the wound. On his right leg a double incision was made, in the form of a cross, and the living flesh was roasted.

He prayed; they forced live coals down his throat. He looked toward Heaven; they plucked out his eyes. He joined his hands; they cut them off. The tortures commenced the evening of March 16 and were prolonged with refined and frightful carefulness during the whole night. About nine o'clock in the morning of March 17 a savage, weary of so long drawn-out a spectacle, shattered the skull of the martyr. Lalemant even to the last moment retained miraculously his moral energy and presence of mind. Covered with appalling wounds, he again threw himself on his knees to embrace the stake and offer himself to God.²⁹

Antoine Daniel and Charles Garnier were spared such agony. They fell in an enemy attack under arrows and bullets. Their martyrdom was no less evidently an intended martyrdom. They gave themselves up for the salvation of their people, baptizing and absolving the Hurons while the Iroquois made their way into the fortified enclosure of the towns, and helping the faithful to escape while they themselves remained at the perilous post. "Courage, my brothers," cried Daniel, "we shall be in Paradise

²⁷ Processus apostolicus. Deposition of Father de Rochemonteix.

²³ Father Martin, Vie du P. de Brèbeuf. Cited by Father de Rochemonteix in his deposition.

²⁰ Chronique de l'ordre des Carmelites. Letter of Father Poncet to Mother Anne of the Saint-Sacrement. Cited by Father de Rochemonteix.

today!" A very humble soul, he would not have spoken these words of immense hope if he had not known that he fell for the faith. A formal martyrdom, also. Daniel advanced toward the invaders after having finished his Mass, still clad in his priestly vestments; Garnier wore his black robe, a target for the Iroquois. They were both struck down because they were priests. The savages fell upon the body of one of them, bathed their hands and faces in his blood and threw his mutilated remains in the flames which were consuming the chapel; they snatched off the cassock from the body of the other and treasured it as a rare trophy. Forced to abandon the place immediately for fear of a sudden return of the Hurons, they did not

spend their rage on his lifeless body.

The end of Father Noël Chabanel was more obscure and his brethren asked among themselves what could have been the exact circumstances. Had he been killed by the Iroquois band who were returning to their country after the pillage and destruction of Saint-Jean? Was he lost in the woods? Had he died of cold and hunger? It was subsequently learned that on December 8, 1649, in the morning, he was accompanied by a single Huron, Louis Honaréennax, who was baptized but had since renounced Christianity. They suspected this man. In 1652 they had proof of his guilt. On that date Father Ragueneau added, under oath, the following lines to the manuscript which related the death of the martyrs: "I, the undersigned, Superior of the Canadian missions of the Society of Jesus, swear that I have written what is put down below concerning the death of Father Chabanel, in the year 1650, at the time when I was superior of the Huron mission. Since that time we have been informed by most reliable testimony that Father Noël Chabanel was killed by that Huron apostate whom we suspected. The assassin himself declared it, and he confessed, moreover, that he perpetrated this heinous crime in hatred of the faith, because he saw that all the misfortunes which had befallen his parents and himself dated from the time they embraced Christianity."30 This was not done for personal vengeance but was truly a crime against religion, wreaked on the person of a priest, apostle, and representative of Christ. The deposition

³⁰ Processus apostolicus. Deposition of Mgr. Gosselin, professor of Canadian history, at present Rector of Laval University. The photographic reproduction of the original document, which is in Latin, is found in Father Jones's book, Húronia, p. 255.

of the murderer, truthfully vouched for by Father Ragueneau, has always been regarded as absolutely probative and it has won the victim the right to be ranked among the martyrs of New France.

As to Father Isaac Jogues, his sacrifice was made, so to say, twice. That he had suffered for the faith during his captivity of 1642-1643 is a matter beyond all discussion. At this time his companion, René Goupil, had the privilege of shedding all his blood for the faith. The Father endured "a thousand deaths," but returned to France "a little abashed that his sins had made him unworthy" of the celestial palm. From that time, however, Pope Urban VIII did not hesitate to qualify him as a martyr. Jogues had had a thumb cut off and the other fingers lacerated, burned and twisted by the Iroquois. This mutilation was a canonical impediment to the celebration of the holy mysteries. The Sovereign Pontiff removed the impediment, declaring: "Indignum esset Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem" ("It would be unseemly for a martyr of Christ not to drink the blood of Christ"). 22

The blow of a hatchet on October 18, 1646, was the quick conclusion to the slow and terrible passion of 1642. Why did the Iroquois forswear their protestations of peace and friendship? In June, 1646, Father Jogues, having successfully concluded his diplomatic mission, entrusted a case containing various objects for his personal use to his hosts, the important Wolf family. Among these things were, apparently, the priestly vestments. The missionary, who planned to return to the Agniers [Mohawks] shortly, wished to avoid a double transport of his luggage. However, knowing the restless nature and the easily aroused suspicions of the savages, he showed them all that the trunk contained. After he left, an epidemic fell on the country and a plague of worms almost totally destroyed the crops. The sorcerers declared that the trunk of Jogues was the sole cause of these disasters. The Wolf and Turtle families pleaded in favor of the Frenchman; the Bear family shouted for war and immediately took the field. The news reached the banks of the St. Lawrence and Jogues, who was returning to the Iroquois country, found himself abandoned by all the savages who were

³¹ Letter of Jogues, January 5, 1644. Cited by Goyau, p. 174.

³² Processus apostolicus. Deposition of Father Rochemonteix; and Goyau, p. 175.

accompanying him. Only Jean de La Lande remained with him. Undaunted, they both decided to go forward. Near the Lake of the Blessed Sacrament the enemies came on them and stripped them. Striking and cudgelling them, they brought them to the village of Ossernenon. A savage cut off bits of flesh from the arms and the back of Jogues and devoured it, saying, "Let us see whether this white flesh is the flesh of a Manitou." "No," replied the Jesuit, "I am only a man as you all are, but I fear neither death nor torture."

The Wolf and Turtle families again tried to save him. They procured an assembly of ancients and chiefs, which decided to restore the captives to liberty. But while they deliberated the Bear family swore to make an end of the magician. While Father Jogues was praying in his cabin they came and invited him to a repast with the chief of the savages. Just as he crossed the threshold of the treacherous host, an Indian, hidden behind the door, split open his skull. Next day Jean de La Lande, who had voluntarily associated himself with the martyr's lot and on that account was caught in the same hatred, was in turn massacred. The heads of the two martyrs were placed on the stakes of the palisaded enclosure, their faces turned toward the road by which they had come.³³

V

No doubt, these preliminary details are enough for our reader and he will wish to get to the Acts of the Martyrs without further delay.*

The coming of Father Brébeuf to the Hurons in 1634, told by himself, will be the first chapter of these Acts or rather their prologue in the form of a fascinating story. Then we shall have a statement of the subject, the general theme, as it were, of the work, and this under a triple aspect, in the "Notice of importance for those whom it should please God to call to New France," in the "Instruction for the Fathers of our Company

³³ Processus apostolicus. Deposition of Father de Rochemonteix.

^{*}In the French volume Martyrs de la Nouvelle France the present article of M. Rigault serves as introduction to a series of extracts from the Jesuit Relations embodying the most important contemporary source-material on the North American martyrs. For English versions of these extracts cf. Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaires in New France, 1610-1791, 73 vols., The Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, 1897-1901; also Edna Kenton, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, New York, 1925. (An abridgment of Thwaites's edition.)

who will be sent to the Hurons," and finally in the letter addressed to the Superior of the Missions in 1638 by Father Brébeuf at the moment when he, as well as his brethren, was threatened with death.

In the Relations of 1643 and of 1647 the entire story, what we might call the Golden Legend, of Isaac Jogues will unfold itself before our eyes. Here, as in the ancient work of Jacques de Voragine, with all its charming simplicity but without its fantastic imagery, we shall see the wonders of faith, and the horrors of torture, even the surprising admonitions of dreams. What is preserved, confusedly enough, in the Relation of 1643, an indispensable document withal, is explained and completed by the pages written by Father Jerome Lalemant after the martyrdom of Jogues. Nothing remains obscure, nothing is forgotten of the aspect of the "apostle-slave" with the sorry mien transfigured by the love of God, of the timid heart that obedience and zeal raised to supreme boldness.

The Relations of 1649 and of 1650 tell us more briefly but with remarkable vigor and emotion of the death and the virtues of the other Jesuits.

Those, however, who wish to live in closer intimacy with these beautiful souls ought to read, in addition, the works which have been consecrated to them, especially those of Father Felix Martin, Hurons et Iroquois: le Père Jean de Brébeuf, sa vie, ses travaux, son martyre (Paris, Tequi, 1878), and Le Père Isaac Joques, premier apôtre des Iroquois (Paris, Albanel, 1873); the work of Father Frederic Rouvier, Au berceau de l'autre France, le Canada (Paris, Retaux, 1895); and finally the highly important books of Father Camille de Rochemonteix entitled: Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIII° siecle (Paris, Letouzey, 1895-1896, 3 volumes).²⁴

VI

We shall rest satisfied in conclusion with drawing from these texts some useful dates, landmarks in the itinerary we have marked out for the reader.

Father Jean de Brébeuf was born in the diocese of Bayeux at Condé-sur-Vire in 1593, on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation. He studied philosophy two years and theology five years

³⁴ Cf. also Wynne, The North American Martyrs; Scott, Isaac Jogues, Missionary and Martyr (Jesuit Mission Press, 257 Fourth Ave., New York).

before entering the Society of Jesus. He was admitted to the novitiate at Rouen at the age of twenty-four, November 8, 1617. He taught grammar at the College of Rouen from 1619 to 1621. On March 25, 1623, he was ordained priest and left for Canada June 19, 1625. All the history of his life is identified with that of New France.

Father Antoine Daniel, another Norman, was born at Dieppe, May 27, 1601. His brother was that Captain Daniel who fought on the sea against the English and in 1629 constructed the first French fort at Cape Breton. Antoine Daniel entered the novitiate of Rouen, October 1, 1621, after having had two years of philosophy and a year of law. From 1623 to 1627 he was professor of the sixth, fifth, fourth and third classes at Rouen. Then he studied theology for three years at the college of Clermont in Paris. He taught the humanities at Eu; then was Minister of this college until his departure for Canada in 1634. From 1634 until his death he was attached to the Huron missions.

Charles Garnier, of a family of lawyers, was born at Paris, May 25, 1606. He was a pupil of the Fathers at the college of Clermont, entered the novitiate in 1624, and was ordained priest in 1636. He was sent to America as soon as he made his vows. He too pursued his entire apostolic career among the Hurons and their neighboring tribes.

Isaac Jogues was born in Orleans of a family whose name is found during all the eighteenth century in the parish archives of Notre-Dame-de-Recouvrance and who received burial in one of the chapels of this church. On January (or June) 10, 1607, he was baptized in the Church of St. Hilaire. He studied at the college founded by the Jesuits in Orleans, and on October 24, 1624, entered the Society of Jesus. He followed the course of philosophy at the college of La Flèche from 1626 to 1629, was professor at Rouen from 1629 to 1633, and studied theology at Paris in the college of Clermont frm 1633 to 1636. He celebrated his first Mass at Orleans in 1636, and this same year set out for Canada after having long dreamt of being a missionary to the Ethiopians. He was sent on the Huron missions a short time after his arrival in Quebec. Father Jerome Lalemant, Superior of the missions, sent him to preach to the savages of the Blue Mountains in 1640 in company with Father Garnier. In 1641, together with Father Raymbault, he explored

the shores of Lake Superior. The Relations inform us minutely concerning his life from 1642 onward.

Gabriel Lalemant, born in Paris, October 10, 1610, was the son of Jacques Lalemant, parliamentary advocate. While still young, he manifested a singular aptitude for letters and the sciences. March 24, 1630, he became a Jesuit in the novitiate of Paris. He taught in the college of Moulins from 1632 to 1635 and studied theology at Bourges from 1635 to 1639. The delicacy of his health obliged him to take a rest at La Flèche from 1639 to 1641. He returned to Moulins as professor from 1641 to 1644 and this latter year was named Prefect of the college of Bourges. Acceding to his repeated requests the Provincial of France consented to appoint him to the Canadian missions. Gabriel Lalemant embarked June 13, 1646, at the port of La Rochelle. In Quebec he found as Superior his uncle, Father Jerome, who employed him in various way for two years. On August 6, 1648, he arrived in the country of the Hurons where he was associated with Father Jean de Brébeuf.

Noël Chabanel was born February 2, 1613, in the diocese of Mende. He entered the novitiate of Toulouse on February 9, 1630, studied philosophy here from 1632 to 1634, was professor at the college of Toulouse until 1642, and departed for Canada in 1643, reaching Quebec the 15th of August. He came to the Hurons the next year. A heroic vow bound him to the missions of France, even though he had extraordinary difficulty in remembering and speaking the Indian languages and an extreme aversion for the manner of life that had to be led among the savages.

The information which we have concerning the two "donnés," René Goupil and Jean de La Lande, is not abundant. Goupil was thirty-five years old when he was killed by the Iroquois September 29, 1642. He was born at Angers and had studied surgery. He was for several months a Jesuit novice at Paris, but his health became precarious and he was obliged to give up the religious life. Persisting, nevertheless, in his desire for sacrifice, he asked permission to serve the Fathers all his life for the love of God. They sent him, as a "donné" to the Huron country where he was taken prisoner with Father Jogues. During his captivity he pronounced the vows which bound him, in a definite manner, to the Society.

Jean de La Lande was born at Dieppe and went to Canada to enter the service of the Jesuits without wages and for life. He accompanied Father Jogues to the Iroquois territory with a full knowledge of the perils to be encountered on that journey of 1646 which led them both to martyrdom.

Paris

GEORGES RIGAULT

THE WINNEBAGO MISSION: A CAUSE CELEBRE

This is not the history of the Winnebago mission; it is rather the account of a struggle for the control of the spiritual destiny of the Winnebago Indians, involving Catholic bishops and Catholic missionaries on the one hand, and on the other hand Presbyterian ministers backed at various times by a United States Indian agent, a territorial governor and a future President of the United States, who was also a military hero. Besides these the United States Commissioners of Indian Affairs, officers of the United States army, prominent statesmen and civilians and two actual Presidents of the United States were either directly or indirectly implicated at one time or another. A number of letters lying quietly through the years in several historical libraries and in the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington have recently been unearthed by the writer and their pages unfold a discouraging but a poignantly interesting story.¹

I

In 1830 the brilliant and cultured Dominican, Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli began his missionary labors among the Indian tribes first in Michigan and then in Wisconsin. As his numerous conversions prove, his zeal met with extraordinary success. In September of 1832 his journeyings brought him to Prairie du Chien, a little frontier town on the Mississippi, in which was located the United States military post, Fort Crawford. During this same month down at Rock Island, a treaty was being arranged between the United States government and the Winnebago Indian tribe, whereby this tribe was to leave its lands in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin and ultimately

¹ For the Winnebago school and agency in Iowa, first on the Yellow river, then on the Turkey river, see the following: "The School on Yellow River," by Bruce Mahan, in the Palimpsest (Dec. 1924); the same author's Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier (1926), Chaps. XIII and XIV; Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls (1929), Chaps. XVIII and XIX; "The Neutral Ground" by Jacob Van Der Zee, and "The Indians of Iowa in 1842" in Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 13, (1916); "Indian Agents in Iowa, II," by Ruth Gallaher, ibid., vol. 14, (1916); "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes. An Interview with Moses Paquette" in Wisconsin Historical Collections, vol. XIII, (1892); various articles and letters in Annals of Iowa (Third Series) dealing with General Joseph Montfort Street and with the Winnebago Agency; and "Indian Schools," a thesis by Martha Edwards, in MS Dept. Wis. State Hist. Library, Chaps. VI and XII.

move to the Neutral Ground in Iowa, and whereby, further, the government was to erect a building or several buildings with a farm attached, in the vicinity of Fort Crawford, for the purpose of establishing a boarding school for the education of the Winnebago children. These children were to be taught, "according to their age and sex, reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving, sewing, and such other branches of useful knowledge as the President of the United States might prescribe." Three thousand dollars was to be the maximum allowance for the annual maintenance of the school.

At this time the Winnebago Indian agent at Prairie du Chien was Joseph M. Street, a God-fearing and fervent gentleman of Presbyterian inclinations and connections, and in general, an upright and honorable man; and to him was entrusted the selection of the site and general preparations for the school. It is probable that during this sojourn of Father Mazzuchelli at Prairie du Chien, the missioner knew nothing of the recently enacted treaty. He may have met Agent Street at this time; if not, he certainly learned to know him during the years immediately following. Agent Street wrote to the Reverend David Lowry, a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, offering him the superintendency of the contemplated school. Several writers state that President Andrew Jackson appointed the Reverend Mr. Lowry, but this, of course, was a mere formality. It was Mr. Street who actually chose him from Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky, where he and Street had become friends. Street's son William wrote later that in 1833 "father got Mr. Lowry to consent to come out and take charge of the school." Agent Street himself in after years writing to Lowry alludes to the fact that with "full confidence in you as a servant of God, I wrote you desiring you to take up the case You at once entered into the same exciting views of the subject, and determined to make the sacrifice yourself, and came immediately on."4 Agent Street and the Rev. Mr. Lowry addressed one another in their correspondence as "Brother Lowry" and "Brother Street." During his early years at Prairie du Chien, Agent Street acted as a sort of minister: "he started a prayer meeting

² Article IV of the Winnebago Treaty of 1832.

³ Annals of Iowa, vol. 111, p. 618.

⁴ Ibid., vol. XV, p. 617.

in his own house on Sundays, at which he would read a sermon." His letters to the Rev. Mr. Lowry indicate that he hoped to make the government school for the Winnebago children a missionary center whence should proceed a benign religious influence to soften the savage hearts.

Father Mazzuchelli had come into occasional contact with the Winnebago, and in April of 1833, a few months after his sojourn at Prairie du Chien, he opened up a mission among these Indians near what is now Portage and the Dells of Wisconsin. His facile talents aided him in rapidly learning their language and he made a number of converts, including some among the half-breeds. He prepared a little prayer-book in their own language, entitled Ocangra Aramee Wawakakara, which was printed at Detroit. While engaged in his labors among the Winnebago he heard of the contemplated government school for these Indians. During his earliest missionary activities he had become indignant over the fact that although he had converted almost entire groups of the Menominee, Ottawa and Chippewa, Protestant ministers among them who had no followers were nevertheless receiving government aid for their missions.6 Being now attached to the Winnebago he determined to make application for their school himself. Agent Street's granddaughter in a recent article states the matter in peculiar language, to say the least: "The conflict came in 1833 when Father Mazzuchelli applied to Governor Porter at Detroit for Catholic [sic] control of the Winnebago school. He was too late, however, as David Lowry, a Protestant, was already at Prairie du Chien." This may have been the excuse proffered to refuse Father Mazzuchelli's application, but it is difficult to see how he was too late as he had been in Prairie du Chien in 1832, and since April, 1833, was not far away on the Wisconsin river, only eight miles from Fort Winnebago. Rev. Mr. Lowry did not arrive in Prairie du Chien until September 7, 1833.8 Furthermore, Father Mazzuchelli knew that he was well qualified for the position of superintendent of an Indian school; he had behind him several years' experience of almost unsurpassed

⁵ Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.

^{*}For Mazzuchelli and the Winnebago, see his Memoirs of a Missionary Apostolic, etc. (English Translation, 1915.)

⁷ Annals of Iowa, vol. XVII, (October, 1929), p. 114.

⁸ Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. XIII, p. 342; Wisconsin Historical Collections, vol. XV, p. 108.

success among the Indians, he was now well established among the very Winnebago for whose children the school was to be conducted, and he was already familiar with their difficult language. Lowry, on the other hand, arrived in Prairie du Chien, unacquainted with the Northwest, and totally ignorant of Indian ways, habits and language. Indeed, the letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring of April 2, 1833, stated specifically that those to be in charge of the Indian school should be "moral, faithful and industrious, if possible acquainted with Indian manners, and prepared to devote their whole time and faculties to the employment. They must have no other business" [Italics ours]. In view of Mr. Street's apparent indifference to these instructions, Father Mazzuchelli cannot be blamed if later in his letters he referred to the Indian agent as a not entirely honorable man. Street's granddaughter stated that the agent "was not, perhaps, at all times as discreet as he might have been, especially in the first few years at Prairie du Chien."10

Mr. Street, to whom was entrusted the task of selecting a site for the school, chose a location to the west of the Mississippi river, about ten miles from Fort Crawford and Prairie du Chien, and six miles inland from the Mississippi on the Yellow river. The buildings were completed in the fall of 1834 and school commenced in April of 1835. Mr. Lowry's appointment there dated from January 1, 1835.

During 1834 and 1835 there were others who supported Father Mazzuchelli in his as yet persevering hope to become superintendent of the Winnebago school. Prominent among them were the chiefs of the Winnebago tribe, who through their agent at Fort Winnebago, Captain Robert A. McCabe, in the summer of 1834 had demanded that Father Mazzuchelli be appointed director of their school. Notable among those who opposed this selection, and perhaps foremost of them all, was Colonel Zachary Taylor, commander of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, who later became President of the United States. In that portion of his letter of July 2, 1835, to General Wm. Clark of St. Louis, which is here quoted because it deals with Father Mazzuchelli, his intemperate and offensive language in

⁰ Annals of Iowa, vol. III, p. 614.

¹⁰ Ibid., vol. VI, p. 371.

¹¹ Mazzuchelli, Memoirs, ut supra, p. 129.

reference to the illustrious Dominican is certainly astonishing. Wrote the future President:

"The other communication alluded to from the Actg. Secty. of War states that the Indians are dissatisfied with the Teacher employed in the Winnebago School established under the Treaty and that they want a certain Mr. Mazzuchelli to be appointed. It is unnecessary to disguise the deep mortification I felt on reading this communication as I am persuaded the Indians know little or nothing, and care less as to the doctrines, tenets etc. of the individual employed as Teacher in the school, nor have they ever moved in this business further than they have been seduced by others. Have we come to this that an American citizen, against whom no charge has ever been made (so far as has ever come to my knowledge) either for want of zeal, industry, integrity or for capacity for the station which he filled, is to be turned out of office to make room for a Foreigner, an Italian Catholic priest, at the instance of a few individuals concerned with the American Fur Company (some of whom are foreigners by birth, and took up arms against this country during the last war with England which fact you well know) for the gratification of their vindictive or superstitious feelings, and under the expectation that he could be used to their pecuniary advantage which no doubt would be the case so far as the funds of the school were concerned" (Italics ours).12

Fortunately for Father Mazzuchelli, our historical perspective today permits us to form a proper evaluation of his pure and ardent American patriotism and unimpeachable honor. Foreigner he had been (he became a naturalized citizen), but no American's speeches, writings or actual deeds ever breathed a greater love and admiration for this republic and her institutions than did those of Father Mazzuchelli. It was unfortunate that probably among those who favored his selection for the school was Joseph Rolette, a dishonest and unscrupulous member of the American Fur Company, who had aided the British in the War of 1812; but this was no fault of the Dominican missioner, who in fact mistrusted Rolette and stated so in a letter to General George W. Jones, the Wisconsin territorial delegate, the following year.18 These "foreign" fur-traders of Prairie du Chien-French Canadians and Scotch Canadiansmust have been a thorn in Colonel Taylor's side, for a little group of them with their Indian allies in September of 1814 during the war to which he alludes had at Rock Island on the

¹² Original of this letter in the Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.; photostatic copy in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library.

¹⁸ Mazzuchelli to Jones, Feb. 20, 1836, Prairie du Chien. Original in MS. Department of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines.

Mississippi scored a dazzling victory over him and forced him with his eight armed boats filled with soldiers to commence an ignominious retreat down the river and put a stain on his otherwise brilliant military career.14 But Colonel Taylor's disrespectful phrases, "a Foreigner, an Italian Catholic priest," and "the gratification of superstitious feelings," and especially his scurrilous and slanderous accusation that Father Mazzuchelli would "no doubt" be a tool of scoundrels for stealing school funds, are difficult to explain except on the ground that he was already infected with the virus of incipient Know Nothingism. For the Southern slaveholding Whigs, to which class Colonel Taylor belonged, were closely allied with the Know Nothings in their hatred of foreigners, whose liberal ideals and hostility toward slavery were beginning to be noticed. And in fact, in 1847 the Native Americans, the successors of the Know Nothings, endorsed Zachary Taylor for President.15

The following letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Herring to Colonel Taylor is interesting in that it indicates the utter hopelessness of Father Mazzuchelli's ambition and reveals the failure of the school under the Rev. Mr. Lowry:

War Department
Office Indian Affairs
September 5, 1835

To Colo.

Z. Taylor, U. S. A. Comdg. at Fort Crawford etc.

Sir,

The account, recently received from Mr. Lowry and yourself, of the condition of the Winnebago School at Prairie du Chien, has been submitted to the Secretary of War.

He has instructed me to say, that he feels great regret that so few children have entered the school, and that there is so little prospect of any beneficial result from the very liberal provision made in the treaty, for education. If the terms of the treaty were not positive, he would feel himself bound to direct the immediate discontinuance of the School. As this cannot properly be done, he desires that you will inform the teachers, that if the number of scholars is not considerably increased before the

^{14 &}quot;Anderson's Journal" in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, vol. IX; Downer's History of Davenport and Scott County, Iouca, pp. 79-82.

¹⁵ Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the United States, pp. 134, 145; Bassett, A Short History of the United States, p. 463.

close of the present year, it will be a matter of duty to reduce their compensation, which is altogether disproportioned to the few children they are now instructing.¹⁶

So long as the school remains in its present unpromising condition, no advantage can be anticipated from the visits and examinations of the Inspectors named in the treaty. The Department therefore relies solely upon your vigilant superintendence, and the cordial cooperation with you of the teachers. As the Agency will continue under your charge, it will depend very much upon yourself, whether the intention of the parties to the treaty shall be realized in the education and improvement of the Indian Youth. And the Department doubts not that you will cheerfully exert yourself to secure this result.

It has been represented, that the obstacles to the success of the school were interposed by the party opposed to emigration to the west bank of the Mississippi, who were anxious to remain on the east side, and enjoy there the benefits of the treaty; and by the Catholics, who wished to obtain for themselves the direction of the establishment. If these things be so, you can say distinctly to all parties, that the attainment of these objects is utterly hopeless. The treaty prescribes the expenditure of the funds for education and for farming establishments West of the river, and it will be steadily adhered to. And no change whatever will be made, at present, of the persons entrusted with the Superintendence of the School.

I will thank you to communicate these views to Mr. Loury, and shall be happy to receive from either of you, at any time, suggestions of measures for securing a more general diffusion of the advantages of education among the children of the Winnebagoes.—

Very etc.,

Elbert Herring.17

16 Commissioner Herring's language in regard to the failure of the Winnebago school is strongly reminiscent of the language used by Senator George G. Vest of Missouri in his famous speech delivered in the United States Senate, April 7, 1900, when reporting on his investigation of the Indian schools of the West:

"Mr. President, every dollar you give these day schools might as well be thrown into the Potomac River under a ton of lead. You will make no more impression upon the Indian children than if you should take that money and burn it and expect its smoke by some mystic process to bring them from idolatry and degradation to Christianity and civilization. If you can have the same system of boarding schools supported by the government that the Jesuits have adopted after long years of trial and deprivation, I grant that there might be something done in the way of elevating this race....

"I was raised a Protestant; I expect to die one; I was never in a Catholic Church in my life I was reared in the old Scotch Presbyterian Church; my father was an elder in it I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, and it is not the popular side of this question by any means, that I did not see in all my journey, which lasted for several weeks, a single school that was doing any educational work worthy the name of educational work unless it was under the control of the Jesuits."—Famous American Statesmen and Orators, vol. VI, pp. 328-339.

¹⁷ Indian Office Letter Book 17. Aug. 24, 1835—Jan. 31, 1836. Photostatic copy in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Of all this the Dominican missioner later wrote briefly and rather bitterly in his Memoirs: "In spite of this [the petitions in Father Mazzuchelli's favor] a Calvanistic minister was assigned to the place. So he with his wife and his sons came into possession of a fine dwelling, as much land as he desired, and the aforesaid annual sum with other sources of revenue which it would take too long to enumerate. In this school a few Indian children of Canadian or English fathers received the first rudiments of education, but the chief benefit fell to the minister, who then became the Indian Agent with a good salary from the Government. If it were asked how many adult Indians were converted to the Presbyterian creed, I believe that no one could answer to the very difficult question." 18

In this latter regard, however, Father Mazzuchelli's efforts bore striking fruit. Already in January, 1835, the Register of Baptisms administered among the Winnebago showed three hundred and ten names, and there were more than thirty baptisms which had not been registered. And this was done in the face of great difficulties, as the missioner indicated. "The Protestant Mission to the west of the great river, with its abundant means and influence, both pecuniary and sectarian, put many obstacles in the progress of Catholicity. The Missionary [Father Mazzuchelli] found himself entirely destitute of means, even the most necessary-for instance to pay for the services of an interpreter, expenses of travel and even food; on one occasion he lived for a week on bread and butter only, which he had brought himself in his scanty luggage, for the bad weather and absence of the hunters made it impossible to procure other provisions,"19

The granddaughter of General Street, the agent, quotes with approval the following statement from a manuscript article on "Indian Missions" in the Wisconsin State Historical Library: "The Winnebago school was unique in one particular, it was the first government school established for the Indians with no sectarian influence or control. Although Lowry was a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, he held that a minister of the gospel should not take an active part in politics and he had no party allegiance."²⁰ To the contrary, under such zealots

¹⁸ Mazzuchelli, Memoirs, ut supra, p. 129.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 138, 143.

²⁰ Annals of Iowa, vol. XVII, p. 114.

as Street and Lowry, this school became a center for narrow and rigid sectarian influence. Street had started sermonizing and evangelizing among the Indians long before the arrival of Lowry. Stated William Street, his son: "Finding the Roman Catholic Mission at Prairie du Chien was doing little or nothing for the moral instruction of the Indians, Street started Sunday meetings in his home to which the Indians were invited. In these meetings, he wisely avoided theology, giving instead plain, practical sermons on right living."21 This allegation that the Roman Catholic Mission was doing nothing for the Indians is false, for the reason that there was no Roman Catholic Mission at Prairie du Chien at this time. During the term of Mr. Street's agency in Prairie du Chien, Father François Vincent Badin, younger brother of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, was able to take time from his strenuous missionary endeavors to pay Prairie du Chien a short visit once a year in 1827, 1828 and 1829; Father Anthony Lutz of St. Louis was there a short while in 1831 at the time of the Menominee massacre and Father Mazzuchelli as mentioned before in 1832. There was no "Mission" or resident priest in Prairie du Chien until 1840.22

The Rev. Mr. Lowry continued the evangelizing while in charge of the government school to such an extent that it was called "The Presbyterian Indian mission on the Yellow river." A Congregationalist missioner in 1835 stated: "The Cumberland Presbyterians have a mission, or rather a missionary under the patronage of Gov't established near Prairie du Chien." The Rev. Lowry "preached to us and superintended the agency," stated one of the pupils in later years. "Of course the religious teaching was wholly of the Presbyterian cast, and the children were very good Presbyterians so long as they remained at the mission; but most of them relapsed into their ancient heathenism as soon as removed from Mr. Lowry's care." And among these pupils were some children of Catholic parents.

²¹ "Historical Biography of Joseph Montfort Street," by Johnson Brigham in Iowa—Its History and Its Foremost Citizens, vol. I, p. 44.

^{22 &}quot;Pioneer Priests at Prairie du Chien" by Dr. P. L. Scanlan in The Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. XIII (Dec., 1929), pp. 102, 103.

²³ Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. XII, p. 405.

²⁴ Ibid., vol. XV, p. 107. The Rev. Cutting Marsh, a distinguished minister, was the writer.

²⁸ Ibid., vol. XII, p. 406. Moses Paquette in "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes."

The school was never a success under Mr. Lowry. When Agent Street inspected the institution on April 30, 1835, he found only six pupils attending; in May there were nine. Even when the numbers increased somewhat in the few more years the school stood on the Yellow river, it was due partly to the attendance of white and part white children. General Street's own son was enrolled as a pupil.

Father Mazzuchelli still kept up his interest in the Winnebago. He hoped to have a Catholic chaplain attached to Mr. Lowry's staff to look after the numerous Catholic Winnebago. He wrote an interesting letter on the subject to General George W. Jones, who was the territorial delegate at Washington, dated Prairie du Chien, the 9th of February, 1836. In it he makes the startling statement that he had written President Andrew Jackson the year before in behalf of the Winnebago interests, and he warns General Jones against Street: "To be a friend of Gl Street is the same as to be very unpopular; for his character is that of a great hypocrite." In reference to the school he wrote in the still somewhat unfamiliar English:

Last summer I wrote to you about the Winnebago School near Prairie du Chien, and told you that Mr. Lowry who is superintendent of the same could do nothing for the Indians. Today I went to see the school (8 or 9 miles from this village). It is really disgraceful to the Government. It is now 18 months that the mission is opened. He has but 2 Indian boys and 5 females, not one pure Indian, only 2 with some Winnebago blood, the others are part Menominee or Sioux or white; not a particle of good done, and none to be expected. That mission was Government paid with Indian money \$4500. The Indians refuse to give their children and ask for a Priest. The agents never look for the real good of those poor creatures; speculation is their God; so they often blind the Government. It's evil and unjust to use so much of their money to no purpose and against their will. Most all the inhabitants of this place are Catholics, who with the rest do condemn the present condition of the school now extremely unpopular and with the Government to remedy the evil. Mr. Jones, please do call on the President and read the letter I wrote to him in the month of May last from St. Louis, and in a few lines you will be enabled to see everything. My intention is to have an assistant Priest in the Indian school. Mr. Kane of Illinois promised me last summer to do his best before the President himself. He knew my claim to be nothing but justice to the Indians. My letter to the President was probably sent to the Indian Department, with the little Winnebago book I printed and sent

^{26 &}quot;The School on Yellow River," p. 448. See note 1.

with the letter. Please sir to serve me in this matter and write me at Galena as soon as possible.

Your Friend

Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P.27

Toward the end of the following month—on March 29, 1836 the Dominican wrote General Jones at Washington from Galena, Illinois, and in speaking again of the Winnebago mentioned the little school he had himself for a time conducted at his own expense near Fort Winnebago:

Since the year 1832 I had the best opportunity of knowing the character and disposition of these Indians; having different periods spent a considerable time in their villages, for the purpose of propagating among them those religious and political principles which are the foundation of human happiness. My endeavors were crowned with as good a success as I expected, and enabled me to publish a little book in the Winnebago language, and to establish a regular school. But left all alone, without the least support, utterly unable to defray my small expenses, I was compelled to abandon the Indian band, and the most charitable of all undertakings. This appeared in the spring of the year 1835. It appears, from the statement of Mr. Herring [Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington], that the Catholics have a school among the Winnebagoes. This is not the case now; and from the same statement you believe that I, the only Catholic Priest who lives among the Winnebagoes, received an appropriation: This is not true, for I never received a cent from the Government directly or indirectly.

The Government solemnly promised the Indians, in consideration of the land they ceded to the U.S. to support 6 agriculturists and 12 pair of oxen during 30 years for the benefit of that nation. It is only about 18 months two men so far as it can be ascertained, are employed about the Winnebago mission house built on Yellow river near Prairie du Chien, which mission has for its support an appropriation of \$3,000 per annum. Even in the supposition that these two men are agriculturists for the Winnebagoes that nation is unjustly deprived of four. As to the two or three pair of oxen and ploughs about the same mission it would be difficult to say who is the owner of them, and for whom they work, if they work at all. Six agriculturists well employed since the spring of the year 1833 could in my estimation have reconciled the Winnebago with the U.S. That article of the treaty that spoke of the schools shows how little the writer of it was acquainted with the Indian character. On this head the Winnebagoes are shamefully abused. Persons utterly incapable to instruct them are approved teachers, and that class of men wished by the Indians, and generally known as [indecipherable] to that office are by the Government entirely disregarded. The Government may be considered

²⁷ In Jones Letter Collection, MS. Department, Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines.

as guilty of solemnly promising the Indians to instruct them, and neglecting the proper means to convey instruction to them.28

In December, 1837, the Winnebago school had an enrollment of forty-one pupils; in December, 1838, the attendance fell to thirty-six. In July of 1839, the Rev. Mr. Lowry secured the appointment of sub-agent of the Winnebago in the new post of Fort Atkinson on the Turkey river, and during the following year under a new superintendent, the school had its largest attendance—seventy-nine pupils, of whom however only fifteen lived at the school.

Lowry, probably feeling that some explanation was necessary for the school's future, "had complained that they were not prospering on account of the opposition of the traders and lack of proper care on the part of the government in carrying out the stipulations of the treaty of 1832."²⁹ And as an evidence that his institution nevertheless did flourish, he furnished the government with a letter signed by several "disinterested" visitors.³⁰

That Father Mazzuchelli's appraisal of Mr. Lowry's ability or rather lack of ability was correct is borne out by the statements in later years of the children of Agent Street, who knew the superintendent well. Thomas P. Street described Lowry as a weak and vacillating character.31 William Street and his brother A. W. accused him of double-dealing.32 Ida M. Street, the agent's granddaughter, wrote of him: "Although well prepared, he does not seem to have been the best man for the place. He neither won the confidence of the Indians nor established a good manual training school. The buildings were there, and the Indians were there, but the school was not the success its wellwishers had hoped for. Among the family letters is one to William [Street] from his father, reproving him for calling Mr. Lowry double-faced. William had been in the school under Mr. Lowry, and thought he knew him better than his father did. Indeed, Mr. Street, although an honest and honorable man himself, was not a keen judge of human nature, and was liable to make mistakes in his choice of assistants."33

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Annals of Iowa, vol. II, p. 100.

³⁰ Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 13, p. 344.

³¹ Annals of Iowa, vol. VII, p. 194.

⁸² Ibid., vol. XVII, pp. 136, 137.

³³ Ibid., vol. VI, p. 364.

In 1839 Bishop Mathias Loras arrived in his tiny see-city of Dubuque in the Iowa Territory. He immediately busied himself with the task of converting the savages of his immense diocese, which stretched to the Canadian border and to the Missouri river. The Sioux, the most numerous tribe, were scattered about in what is now Minnesota. But nearer Dubuque, on the Turkey river in northern Iowa, a new sub-agency was being established at Fort Atkinson, and to this sub-agency the Winnebago were being brought from Wisconsin and Illinois. The newly appointed sub-agent was Rev. David Lowry. The Winnebago school was also moved from the Yellow river to the Turkey river agency.

On July 1, 1840, Bishop Loras confirmed "at the little Chute" south of the mouth of the Turkey river about thirty-six Catholic Winnebago, probably converts of Father Mazzuchelli.34 His interest in these Indians became aroused and in 1842 when the agency on the Turkey river became somewhat organized, he sent to them as missioner, Father Remigius Petiot, whom he had brought with him from France. This young priest showed great facility for acquiring languages, a facility which was required because the Winnebago speech was a difficult tongue. Under the heading "Baptisms conferred by Mr. Petiot when among the Winnebago" the Baptismal Register of the old stone cathedral of Dubuque shows nineteen baptisms from April 27 to July 14, 1842. "But," wrote that eminent historian, John Gilmary Shea, "the missionary was soon driven out at the instigation of the Indian agent"35—who, as was just stated, was none other than the Rev. David Lowry.

While working among the Winnebago, Father Petiot stayed occasionally at Prairie du Chien with the Abbé Joseph Cretin, who made this town his headquarters from 1841 to 1844. Father Cretin, later the first bishop of St. Paul, then took up the missionary work among the Indians after Father Petiot's departure. A remarkably able man was Father Cretin. Ordained at famed St. Sulpice in Paris, he became vicar at Ferney, for many years the home of Voltaire, prince of modern infidels

³⁴ Confirmation Record Book of Bishop Loras, Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

³⁵ John Gilmary Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the U. S., vol. IV, p. 245.

and French literature, and his special objective there was the uprooting of the rationalistic influences and traditions surviving this philosopher. In 1830 he refused to offer public prayers for the new king, Louis Philippe, and he fell under sharp displeasure at Paris for a time. He left France for America in 1838 with Bishop Loras, and served under the latter from the very beginning as vicar-general of the Dubuque diocese. Now at the age of forty-five, he attacked and mastered the obstinate Winnebago tongue and zealously carried on the work of conversion among the savages. He was visited while on the Turkey river by Bishop Loras, who had come up from Dubuque in a cart driven by oxen and who offered up holy Mass there among the Indians.³⁶

The poor Winnebago, a very inferior tribe, morally and otherwise, while in Wisconsin, deteriorated still more on the Turkey river in Iowa. They were the victims of dishonest traders and unscrupulous liquor vendors. Two vicious white settlements known as Sodom and Gomorrah, nomen omen, were located just across the reservation boundary and did a thriving business.37 In discouragement a few groups of the savages endeavored to go back to their old haunts in Wisconsin. It is interesting to note that the old Dubuque Baptismal Register just referred to records on October 17 and 18, 1843, the conversion and baptism of three Winnebago women "in the prison of the city of Dubuque." Governor John Chambers of Iowa characterized their nation as "the most drunken, worthless and degraded tribe of which I have any knowledge"; as and in his message of 1845, he complained that among them "the chase is almost abandoned and the council fires, if kindled at all, seem only intended to light up the wretched scene of their drunkenness and debauchery."

It was among those pitiful souls that Father Cretin was toiling when, by the removal of the Rev. David Lowry from the sub-agency by President John Tyler on July 5, 1844, a new and apparently more favorable set of conditions confronted him. James MacGregor, Jr., was appointed sub-agent for the Winnebago reservation. He was a noted pioneer of the upper valley and the town of McGregor, Iowa, on the Mississippi, was named

³⁶ Letters in Dubuque Archdiocesan Chancery.

³⁷ "The Conquest of Sodom" in the Annals of Iowa, vol. VIII (First Series), October, 1870, p. 309.

³⁸ John Chambers, by John Carl Parish, p. 187.

after him. MacGregor had noticed the successful work of Father Cretin among the Winnebago, especially among their halfbreeds, and had seen the respect the latter had for him and for his work in behalf of sobriety among their drunken ranks. At the same time, the sub-agent had become extremely dissatisfied with the superintendent of the Winnebago school, the Rev. John L. Seymour, and his assistants. He attempted to dismiss them, because, as he wrote to John Chambers, the territorial governor of Iowa, "they exercised no moral influence on the Indians, and therefore the School could not possibly flourish under their auspices. This may be owing to inability, carelessness, or wilful neglect of duty. In either case they are incompetent to the discharge of the duties heretofore confided to them." And of this charge, he added "I have become satisfied by personal observation. One fact alone would be sufficient, even if unsustained-viz-that the 'School Bands' who reside immediately in the neighborhood of the School, are by far the most worthless of the whole nation. They afforded the fairest subjects for the exertion of moral and religious instruction, and if they have not profited, it is not uncharitable to suppose that the requisite instructions were not attempted or were inefficiently made."89

Then occured a clash between the backers or Rev. Mr. Seymour and the friends of Father Cretin similar to the clash between the respective groups behind the Rev. Mr. Lowry and Father Mazzuchelli a few years before. The Rev. Mr. Seymour left for the executive office at Burlington, Iowa, with a letter of recommendation which he had requested Major Dearborn, in command of Fort Atkinson, to inscribe for him. Sub-agent MacGregor countered a few days later with a letter recommending Father Cretin for the position of superintendent of the school:

Turkey River, Sub-Ind. Agency Oct. 29th, 1844

Sir:

I would beg leave respectfully to nominate Joseph Cretin for the appointment of Superintendent of the "Winnebago School," at this place.

Mr. Cretin is a Catholic Priest, at present attached to the Church at

³⁹ MacGregor to Chambers, Turkey River Sub. Ind. Agency, Oct. 26, 1844. In Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

⁴⁰ Dearborn to Chambers, Fort Atkinson, Oct. 21, 1844. In Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C. Dearborn stated: "The bearer of this requested me to write you a note."

Dubuque, and recently from Prairie du Chien, where he sustained the reputation of a highly intelligent and useful man, and is universally respected by all classes. Mr. Cretin from his connection with the Half Breed relations of the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien and the influence he has obtained over them, in my opinion is better qualified to secure the respect, attention and sympathy of the Indians, than any other man who could be selected.

During the payment of the annuity goods at this place, I had personal opportunities of observing the influence of Mr. Cretin over the Half Breeds, and the respect entertained for him by many of the Indians, as an evidence of this, at that time not a drunken Indian was to be found on the ground.

Respectfully

His Excellency
John Chambers Supt. Ind. Affs.
Burlington, I. T.

Your obt. Svt.

James MacGregor

U. S. Sub-Ind. Agt. 41

A number of other prominent citizens sent recommendations for Father Cretin to Governor Chambers:

Dubuque, Iowa 2d November, 1844

To His Excellency, John Chambers Govr. and Supt. Ind. Affairs Burlington, Iowa.

Sir:

The well known fact that Catholic clergymen have been the most successful on Indian Missions together with the moral and religious deportment of the Rev. Mr. Cretin, and the reputation sustained by the schools under his control in this city, particularly that of the female under the care of the "Sisters of Charity" induce us to concur with Judge Lockwood and Mr. MacGregor in recommending his appointment as Superintendent of the Winnebago School.

Very respectfully Sir Your obt. Servants Charles Corkens John King

I cheerfully concur with the above gentlemen, and believe that with the addition to the school of the "Sisters of Charity" which I understand is contemplated, the arrangement would promise greater benefit to the Indians than any other that could be made.

Timothy Davis.42

⁴¹ Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

⁴² Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

These were amongst the most distinguished men in Iowa at that time. The Hon. Chas. Corkery (his name was incorrectly transcribed Corkens on the copy in the Indian Office Files) was the Probate Judge of Dubuque County. The Hon. John King, when Iowa was still a part of the Michigan Territory, had been commissioned "Chief Justice of the County Court of Dubuque County," but his title to singular distinction is that he was the owner and editor of the "DuBuque Visitor," the first paper published north of St. Louis and west of the Mississippi, its first issue appearing on May 11, 1836. Timothy Davis, a Dubuque attorney, was subsequently a U. S. Representative in Congress from the Northern District of Iowa, and a candidate for the United States Senate.⁴⁸

The nuns referred to in this petition were the Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M. who had come to Dubuque from Philadelphia in 1843. Had they been installed as teachers in the Winnebago school, its future would have been assured if the phenomenal success of this order as teachers from that day to this is any criterion. In fact the history of our Indian schools indicates strikingly the uniform success of teaching orders among the savages.

The Governor also received letters recommending Father Cretin from Bishop Loras and from the Hon. James H. Lockwood, who had been a member of the Wisconsin territorial judiciary and legislature, and who in 1857 was hailed as "the oldest Anglo-American settler in Wisconsin." Of these petitioners, Judge Corkery was the only one besides Bishop Loras who was a Catholic."

But Governor Chambers stubbornly refused to be convinced. He sent the recommendations on to T. Hartley Crawford, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and after speaking of the signers of the petitions for Father Cretin as "gentlemen of great respectability" he waved aside their recommendations with the statement that "I am sadly annoyed by applications for employment at the Sub-Agency of Mr. MacGregor" and concluded

⁴³ For these gentlemen, see Johnson Brigham's Iowa—Its History and Its Foremost Citizens, various references; History of Dubuque County, Iowa; A Biographical Congressional Dictionary, 1774-1911, pp. 206, 596. Davis was the first Republican ever elected to Congress in northern Iowa.

⁴⁴ Loras to Chambers, Iowa City, Nov. 11, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C. For Judge Lockwood, see Wisconsin Historical Collections, vol. III, pp. 55, 56.

his note saying the former teachers would be retained. His letter follows:

"Executive Office, Burlington, Iowa 14th November, 1844

Sir:

By the last mail from the North I received under cover from Bishop Loras, catholic Bishop of Iowa, the letters and papers of which I enclose you copies. The first of which in order, is Mr. Sub-Agent MacGregor's nomination of the Revd. Joseph Cretin, a catholic priest, for the place of principal Teacher or "Superintendent" of the Winnebago School at Turkey river, the rest are, the letter of Bishop Loras—Mr. MacGregor's to him, and the recommendations of Mr. Cretin, by Judge Lockwood, Mr. King, Mr. Corkery and Mr. Davis—all of whom are gentlemen of great respectability.

I send you these papers that in case you should deem Mr. MacGregor's reasons for wishing to dismiss the present teachers sufficient, you may at once act upon the nomination.

I am sadly annoyed by applications for employment at the Sub-Agency of Mr. MacGregor, under the impression, which seems to have become general, that all who were employed there before Mr. MacGregor came into office are to be discharged—I hope however that the reinstatement of the discharged teachers will put an end to such applications for a while. I have written to Revd. Mr. Cretin as requested by Bishop Loras and have informed him of the reinstatement of the former teachers and that the whole matter had been referred to you and intimating my opinion that there would be no vacancy.

q. Com'r Your Obt. Servt.

John Chambers," 45

T. Hartley Crawford Esq. Com'r Ind. Affrs.

War Department.

It will be clearly observed that Governor Chambers paid no attention whatsoever in this letter to Father Cretin's superior qualifications for the post he sought. Of MacGregor he naively attempted to dispose by accusing him of discharging the employees merely because they had been his predecessor's, while turning a deaf ear to the sub-agent's clear-cut charges of neglect and inefficiency against the teachers. On the one hand he invited the Commissioner to act upon Cretin's nomination if he so desired, and on the other hand he blandly implied that this was not necessary, since he, Chambers, had informed Father Cretin that the teachers were reinstated and that there would be no vacancy.

⁴⁵ Chambers to Crawford, Burlington, Iowa, Nov. 14, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

Meanwhile poor MacGregor up on the Turkey river was forced to swallow his accusations and reinstate the Rev. Mr. Seymour and his assistants.⁴⁶

Attempts were being made to buy the Winnebago lands in Iowa and to remove the tribe. During June of 1845 Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin Territory came to Fort Atkinson on the Turkey river and attempted at a big ceremonial gathering to effect a treaty for this purpose. "But the fifteen hundred Winnebago who met Dodge in council at Fort Atkinson seemed to be completely under the influence of traders who from selfish motives opposed their removal," wrote one reliable historian. Father Cretin, however, who was present at the affair gives a somewhat different version and relates how even here the demands of the Indians for a Catholic missionary came to the fore. He states in a letter to France thus:

Fort Atkinson, June 22, 1845.

My Very Dear Sister:-

As I had announced to you in my last letter, I am for a few months back amongst the Winnaybaygo or Puant savages. These poor Indians appear to be very well disposed; they have addressed to the government petitions upon petitions, in order to obtain Catholic priests from it; but no attention is paid to their entreaties, and in spite of them, it continues to impose upon them Protestant ministers, although they do not listen to them.

After describing the preliminaries to the meeting between the Winnebago and the white officials, Father Cretin continues:

All the savages were in full Indian dress, adorned with feathers and plumes, and their faces tattooed with endless variety. The commissioner, who was General Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin, addressed them and told them what was his message; he made known to them that a very good price would be given for their properties.

This evidently was said with a touch of irony for Cretin continues:

The price consisted in an offer to pay about fifty cents to the acre for their excellent land, which is watered by six considerable rivers and which comprises 2,300,000 acres. In taking from them this immense territory, the intention was to transport its possessors to the east of the Missouri.

⁴⁶ Chambers to MacGregor, Burlington, Iowa, Oct. 31, 1844. MacGregor to Chambers, Turkey River Ind. Agency, Nov. 13, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

⁴⁷ Mahan in Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier, p. 226.

The savages, having heard this proposition, asked for a day to deliberate on it amongst themselves; then the meeting arose and was adjourned to the next day.

Wakoo, the great orator of the nation, delivered the tribe's sentiments the following day before a great assemblage. He paid a few compliments to General Dodge and the white brethren and then accused the government of deceit, neglect and false promises; the Indians wanted good agents and they wanted Catholic priests. Wakoo said further:

"And I, a mere child of nature, who have but one tongue, I believed in the sincerity of those promises; but behold, in spite of our protestations, all our affairs have been ministered without even consulting us. They have sent away agents whom we loved to give us others without taking our advice. [Just a few days previously, on June 2, James MacGregor, Jr.'s sub-agency incumbency came to an end, and he was to be succeeded by a newcomer.] We had forwarded petitions to which no regard was paid. They have certainly promised us that they would leave us always upon the lands which we occupy, and already they wish to send us to I know not where! My brother, thou art our friend; tell our grandfather [the President] that before taking the road to a new exile, his children have need of making a longer halt; the tree which would be incessantly transplanted, would not delay to perish.

"In order to dispense with being just towards us, we are accused of being the most perverse nation under the heavens. If the reproach were made to us by Indians, I would show that it is exaggerated. But it is the whites who make it to us; and I confine myself to answering that it falls upon themselves. Why impute to us vices which you yourself have encouraged? Why do you come to the very doors of our huts to tempt us with your fire-water, so destructive to our tribe? If crimes be committed amongst us, it is in consequence of drunkenness; and who intoxicate us? Who? Avaricious men, who sell poison to us at the price of our clothes.

"As thou hast invited me to make of thee all the demands which I might think useful to our nation, allow me, before concluding, to make one of the highest importance. Our grandfather had said to us, I will teach you how to live well." Those men have come in effect, but, although they are tolerably good, our children do not listen to them any better than to ourselves; we wish for Catholic priests. They will make themselves be heard better, be assured of it. I take God to witness that what I say expresses the wishes of my nation; I also take to witness the chiefs here present." And all the chiefs raised an approving murmur, without one gainsaying it

The next day the savages held another meeting. Several other chiefs spoke, and only confirmed what had been said the previous day; but before the opening of the meeting, the great orator having expressed a desire

⁴⁸ Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 14, p. 564.

that I should come and sit beside the president, I was invited to take the place of the commander of the fort, which astonished not a little a great many Protestants. If God removes the obstacles which are opposed to my designs I hope with His grace to contribute to ameliorate the conditions of these poor people.

I am still alone here, with a savage family, of which the mother, who is a very good Christian, speaks a little French; lodged in a house formed of trunks of trees, laid horizontally one over the other, and covered with bark, I have almost what is necessary. The two greatest inconveniences of the country are rattlesnakes and mosquitoes

I finish my letter at Prairie du Chien this 9th day of July. I say nothing of the divers dangers I have run and from which I have escaped by the favor of God

J. Cretin, Missionary Apostolic.49

During these earlier months of 1845 which Father Cretin spent on the Turkey river, he endeavored on two occasions to establish a private school for the children of the Catholic Indians, since the recommendations and petitions for his superintendency of the agency school had been ignored. The first attempted location was a mile and a half distant from the agency and the second five and a half miles distant. But Superintendent Seymour feared that all the pupils would abandon the agency school and flock to Father Cretin's establishment, such was the affection and respect entertained for the missioner by the Winnebago. A letter from Governor Chambers to Subagent MacGregor then forbade all establishment of missionary schools near the agency, and apparently implied that Father Cretin himself was to be removed. So the missioner, in his as yet imperfectly mastered English, penned a respectful inquiry to the governor to learn exactly what his status might be:

Turkey River on the 10th of June 1845

To his Excellency the Governor of the Iowa terrty.
Sir.

Upon the repeated invitations of the indians Winnebagoes, and of the half Breeds, upon a petition Signed by about all the chiefs of that Tribe and after having taken all the steps requested to obtain a Lawful authorization, I thought my duty to not delay any longer to answer their wishes to come and settle myself among them to try to do some good among these people, to teach them the Christian Doctrine and perform the functions of my holy ministry.

⁴⁰ Annals of the Propagation of the Faith Society, vol. VIII, p. 405 st seq.

I was on my journey, when I received by the Sub-agent Mr. McGregor Communication of your order forbidding all establishment of missionary school near the Agency. In consequence of that order I gave up the Design I had to collocate myself in a pretty suitable house offered to me gratuitously by Mr. Rice, and distant one mile and an half of the other school.

I took possession of an abandoned and solitary house four miles farther after having paid for it. I could not think that at such a distance any objection to my staying there could be done.

But since Mr. Seymour does find I am not yet far enough and says: that all his scholars will flock here (what a Proof!) I renounce entirely to the intention of establishing a school. I cannot go farther. I cannot abandon so many Catholics who are here around; or oblige them to make seven or ten mile to attend to their religious duties. They may continue to force Catholic parents to send their children to Protestant teachers or to keep them in ignorance. And the most part of the scholars belong to catholic parents.

Now, I Beg nothing else of your Excellency, except that has been so easily granted to so many others, the permission of residing on the Neutral Ground to discharge the Duties of my holy ministry towards the members of our Church. I shall be alone except one more to serve me and perhaps two or three Boys for Company.

I am ready to enter into all the bonds and securities requested on that account by the laws of the United States.

I am very far from having any hostil intention. I am convinced I am more able to do something for the peace among the indians and to induce them to submit themselves to necessity than many Dragoons.

I may declare that I have not had the least share in the Petitions which have been done about the removal of the present teachers.

I send your excellency this Petition through the agent whose approbation I have ascertained. I made an application to him on that subject two months ago. probably he did forget to send you my letter.

Please Sir to honor with an answer clear and positive. it is a long while since we Sollicit such a permission—I cannot see the motive of so many refusals.

Believe me Sir, of your Excellency the Most humble and obedient Servant Jh. Cretin.

P.S. I did pray the Major Deaburn Comt of the fort to inform me through what chanel I could obtain a lawful authorisation? he told me I had nothing to do but to write to you, that Mr. Adams did obtain his permission the same way few months before.⁵⁰

Governor Chambers's answer implying an accusation against Father Cretin of having interfered with the agency school and containing the sharp warning that "any and every attempt to

⁵⁰ Cretin to Chambers, Turkey River, June 10, 1845. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

interfere with the established school in the Indian country will be resisted." follows:

Executive Office, Burlington, Iowa 11th July 1845

Revd Sir

Your letter of the 10th ult. transmitted to me by Mr. MacGregor has been received, and I am gratified to learn from it, that you have abandoned the idea of establishing a school near the Agency of the Winnebagoe Indians. The existing school is under the care and control of the government of the United States, and it must have been long since generally understood, that no interference with it would be permitted. Your wish to establish yourself with the tribe as a Missionary for religious purposes only, is entirely in accordance with the views of the government, and confining yourself to your religious duties your residence among them will be protected and respected by the Agent and by the offices at Fort Atkinson. You say "it is a long while since you solicited such a permission, and you cannot see the motive of so many refusals"-give me leave to say that no such permission has ever been asked by, or refused to any Missionary of the Catholic or any other Church since I have been in officethe allegation therefore of "so many refusals" is not well founded, and I now distinctly inform you that no objection has been or will be made to a proper application for the settlement of Missionaries of any denomination among the Indians for religious purposes, or for purposes of education, but any and every attempt to interfere with the established school in the Indian country will be resisted, and Missionary schools will not be permitted so near those under control of the government as to produce a collision. With this understanding your application to remain in the Indian country for religious purposes is granted, and you will please receive with it, my very sincere wish that your ministry may prove useful to the Indians.

No Bonds are necessary.

I am sir

Very respectfully Your obt svt

(signed)

John Chambers.51

Revd. Jos. Cretin.

What Governor Chambers meant by "interference" he, of course, failed to explain. With one breath he states that no objection would be made to missionaries "among the Indians" "for purposes of education" and with the next breath he forbids the missionaries to carry on the education in schools near the agency. The fact that Father Cretin's school five and a half miles from the agency, supported by slender private means and

⁵¹ Chambers to Cretin, Burlington, Iowa, July 11, 1845. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

the indefatigable zeal of the missioner alone, could draw away all the pupils from the established school with ample government funds, the name and prestige of the government, and years of experience behind it, might be termed "interference" by some; but it is on the one hand a tremendous tribute to Father Cretin's ability, and to the affectionate respect and admiration he commanded amongst the Indians, as it is on the other hand an obvious indictment of the incapacity and inefficiency of the teachers and directors of the agency school.

The governor seized on one phrase of the missioner's awk-ward English to declare emphatically that he had never refused him permission to settle among the Indians; but there were various other refusals that the by this time discouraged priest may have had in mind: the governor's cold refusals to all the petitions sent to him in the missioner's behalf for the director-ship of the agency school; the governor's refusal to permit the erection of a mission school even miles away from the agency; and the previous sub-agent's refusal to allow Father Petiot to settle on the agency.⁵²

As might be expected, such high-handed actions of the governor caused wide comment and criticism, but only for a time. Said the New York Freeman's Journal the following year (1846): "The affair excited general condemnation, and was even taken up in Congress; but of course, was soon forgotten, and not only did the government continue to pay the money of the Winnebagoes to a missionary whom the tribe rejected, but, strange for a government that professes equality of religious rights, and is indignant at Tuscan laws, deprived the Winnebagoes of a priest of their religion."53

⁵² John Gilmary Shea refers to this incident and peculiarly enough echoes Father Cretin's assertion: "In 1845 Very Rev. Mr. Cretin made another attempt; but Governor Chambers by his letter of April 22, 1845, directed the agent to prevent the priest from establishing a school, and refused to permit any Catholic priest to enter the reservation. This was done in direct contradiction to the wishes of the tribe, who desired Catholic priests and teachers." (History of the Catholic Church in the U. S., vol. IV, p. 245.) We traced this letter in the Indian Office Files, and in it the governor strictly forbade a "Missionary school" in the Neutral Ground, adding that "it has already been decided that a school cannot be established so near that already in existence, as in any way to interfere with it, by attracting the young Indians or otherwise," but did not specifically refuse permission to missionaries to enter the reservation. Chambers to MacGregor, April 22, 1845, Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

⁵³ Quoted in John F. Kempker, History of the Catholic Church in Iowa, p. 49.

However, a change was actually made the following year, 1846. The Rev. Mr. Seymour was supplanted by another director, and needless to say, not by Father Cretin, but of all men, by none other than the Rev. David Lowry, formerly sub-agent and superintendent!⁵⁴

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However, during the same year, 1846, the government purchased the Winnebago lands in Iowa, and two years later the tribe was moved to Minnesota, north of St. Cloud. And as Providence would have it, after another two years, Father Cretin was appointed the first Bishop of St. Paul in Minnesota. Almost immediately he wrote to Senator George W. Jones of Iowa at Washington asking him to secure information from the War Department about the various Indian tribes in the Minnesota Territory. But the thought of the Winnebago, for whom he had developed a profound affection, was uppermost in his mind. Of these Indians he wrote:

I would be also very thankful to your Honor, if you could inquire from the Department of War, if the Government would consent to entrust the care of a school among the Winnebagoes, to some Teachers of our persuasion, with a suitable salary and some pecuniary means to rescue these poor Indians from their miserable condition.

Mr. Lowry has been obliged lately to give up his mission among them, and after a trial of eighteen years and an immense quantity of money expended he confessed his inability for civilizing this People.

I am confident that great many among them, through the Christian Doctrine, may be induced to cultivate their lands, build houses and adopt the manners of the Whites. In this undertaking we may be helped much by the Half Breeds.

The Government ought to know by what is done among the Monomenies, the Potoatomies and the Chippeways that the Indians have more confidence in the clergymen of our persuasion.

I'll try to provide also the Sioux with good missionaries and to prevent as much as we can these disgraceful wars and horrible slaughters taking place about every year.

We shall never interfere with the affairs of the government's officers or of the traders. We shall endeavor to entertain always good feelings toward them among the Indians.

Please, General, excuse the trouble I take the Liberty to give you. You will understand it is for a Philanthropic purpose.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 315; Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 14, p. 566.

⁵⁸ Cretin to Senator Jones, December 23, 1850. Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

Bishop Cretin arranged his plans for the Winnebago and the other tribes patiently and resourcefully. He had learned from bitter experience that it was far better to go to headquarters directly than to rely on even the most trustworthy intermediaries. Toward the end of May of 1852 he was in Washington and had a personal interview with President Millard Fillmore. He had as friends at court General Henry H. Sibley, the delegate from Minnesota Territory, and later Sibley's successor, Henry M. Rice; still closer friends were U. S. Senator Henry Dodge, the former territorial governor of Wisconsin, his son U. S. Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge of Iowa, and U. S. Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, while the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Colonel Lee, was very kindly disposed toward him.

His ultimate success in caring for the Winnebago just a few years before his death is revealed in the following letter, which closes this article with a consoling note after the recital of so many sad reverses:

St. Paul on the 15th of January, 1853.

Hon. Gl. Jones U. S. S.

Dear and Honorable Sir.

You have been probably very much astonished at not receiving any mark of gratitude from me, for the help and the service you had the kindness to render to me, in Washington, last summer, that we might obtain the direction of the Winnebagoe School.

The President of the U. S. and the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs may have felt the same surprise.

Before returning my thanks for the benevolent dispositions of his excellency, the President Fillimore, I thought proper to wait until his wise intentions be accomplished. And although his orders on that subject were given at the end of last June, nothing has been concluded, except two days ago, by an agreement between Govr Ramsey [of the Minnesota Territory] and me. At first the agent refused to give up the school. He continued to appoint the Teachers himself. Govr Ramsey did hesitate for many months to have his orders enforced.

Many false statements were sent to Washington by the Agent and the removed Teachers about the new organization. I am very much pleased and edified to see that not much attention was paid to these complaints, which were naturally to be expected.

⁵⁸ Likewise, Father Gabriel Richard had dealt directly with Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in regard to his Indian school at Detroit.—"The Spring Hill Indian School Correspondence," by Sister Mary Rosalita, I. H. M., Ph. D., in *Michigan History Magazine*, vol. XIV, Winter Number, 1930.

⁸⁷ Cretin Letters and Documents in Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

I have signed the day before yesterday a contract very favorable to the Indians and to the interests of the Government. I took the charge of the school at some conditions very disinterested on our Part. I promised to apply more than the two thirds of the money appropriated by the Gover't for that school to Provisions and clothings for scholars not keeping the common salary of laboring men for the Teachers.

Nothing will be spared for the improvement and benefit of this Tribe. I have appointed for superintendent of this school an excellent clergyman, the Rev. Mr. de Vivaldi, an accomplished scholar and gentleman who has a great influence over the half Breeds and the Indians. He had a High position in Piedmont even in civil matters, being at the head of a newspaper.

I have sent two Sisters of charity who do a great deal of good among these Indians. They are very much respected. I'll send two male teachers as soon as the navigation will be open. Our main object will be to induce the scholars to cultivate a field. And, we are confident to succeed, in spite of the demoralisation and prejudice introduced by the former system.

Dear General, I do believe your honor to use all your Influence to have these Indians removed to the place they long for, near *Itasca*. If once located in that place, being all together, it will be easy for us to do some good among them. The most part of them are already leaving about that place.

Please, Dear Sir, to accept of my warm and sincere congratulation for your New Election to the Senate and my New Year compliments. I hope that the two Mr. Dodges are still members of that eminent Body. Please to present them with my respect and thanks for the help they have afforded me in that question.

Mrs. Jones, I suppose, is with you. I salute her with esteem, respect and affection. God bless all your family.

In the occasion Please to offer my sincere thanks to the President and to Mr. Lea. I was afraid to trouble them with a letter.

I remain your all devoted and thankful and humble servant

♣ Joseph Cretin

Bishop of St. Paul.⁵⁸

Columbia College, Dubuque

MATTHIAS M. HOFFMAN

⁵⁸ Cretin to Jones, Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

SENATOR THOMAS HENRY CARTER

The earliest event in the life of Thomas Carter that has been recorded after his baptism is that of his fistic encounter with Johnny Wolf. It is best told as recalled by a participant in the affair, Tommy Carter's little sister Julia.*

"The little school-house," she begins, "was over the hill and seemed very far away as we three children climbed up and then down on the opposite slope into the valley. Of that school I have no memories except one of an event that must have been very tragic to my child mind. For, to this hour, I feel the sting of a very heavy slap on the side of my head administered by one Alice Wolf. Alice was a big, strong girl. She and her little brother attended the school. We always carried our lunch with us to school in a tin bucket. At noon time we congregated in the schoolroom-boys and girls-the boys usually hurrying to be on the playground as quickly as possible. One day Johnny Wolf and Tommy Carter began either arguing or gave mutual offense, and the outcome was a fistic encounter. T. H. C. was plump and strong and full of pluck, while Johnny Wolf tried his best to uphold the honor of his name Johnny received on that occasion, a sound and lasting what they call 'lickin'. His sister Alice heard of the fight, came directly towards me as I sat finishing my lunch, tin bucket on my knee. With her big hand and strong arm she gave the tin one broadside. The wreck went towards the side wall. Her second attack was my ear and her big flat slap sent me in a heap following the lunch receptacle. I naturally screamed and rushed for the outof-doors, to glimpse both my brothers on the hill-top going home as fast as possible, as they feared the chastisement of the teacher. I followed with all the speed I could master, and we told our tales to our parents. They did not send us back to school that day. Both fathers met later and talked the matter over, and all ended amicably as far as I know."

^{*} I. The chief sources of the information contained in this paper are:

A. A series of communications between the author and Mrs. Julia Carter Lang of Missoula, Montana, a sister of Thomas Carter. Unfortunately Mrs. Lang died after an operation October 11, 1929.

B. A speech delivered by the Honorable Lee Mantle, a great friend of the Senator's, a month after the latter's death, at a service held in the Carter Memorial Committee.

II. Other sources are: Palladino, L.B., S.J., Indian and White in the Northwest, 2nd ed., 1922; Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States; National Cyclopedia of American Biography; Miller, History of Montana, 1894; Sanders, History of Montana, 1913; Progressive Men of Montana, 1900; Bancroft, H. H., History of Montana.

III. Reminiscences of Chauncey M. Depew and Maurice Francis Egan's Recollections of a Happy Life give good pictures of the times and foibles of Senator Carter's time. (The family of Maurice F. Egan and that of Senator Carter were good friends.)

IV. Congressional Record and various newspaper accounts.

Edward Carter and his wife, née Margaret Byrnes, were born in County Roscommon, Ireland. About the year 1849 or 1850 (i. e. shortly after the famine of 1846-47 and the rebellion of 1848) they emigrated, settling in West Virginia, at Wheeling, where they were married. Edward Carter, before he met Margaret Byrnes had been a strict member of the Anglican Church; but through her influence he was converted to Catholicism, as were two of his sisters. After their marriage the Carters did not remain long in West Virginia, for in 1852 we find them settled in a little village in Scioto County, Ohio. The village, known as Junior Furnace, consisted of an iron-ore furnace, owned by William Means and David Seton, and a number of small one-story houses, occupied exclusively by the workmen. In one of these little "employees' cottages" their first son was born in 1852, and on October 30, 1854, in the same house, was born a second son. The latter was baptized, under the name of Thomas Henry, in the nearest church, a tiny one situated in the midst of a wood and consequently known as "The Pine Grove Church." Not so long after, the Carters moved to a small farm about three miles distant. It was from this farm that the three children (Julia was born two years after Thomas) climbed over the hill to the school in the valley.

Thomas has been described as a strong, healthy-looking child with blue eyes, light hair, and a clear, almost transparent complexion. His mother, in later years, told of the following incident. Mr. William Means was the owner of as many ore furnaces as the ordinary farmer had acres of land. To the people of the village, in whose eyes driving a team was a sign of wealth, he was fabulously rich. It was considered an honor to be recognized and saluted by him as he drove his splendid carriage along the roads or through the village. Passing the Carter home one fine day he stopped at the gate to gaze at the chubby, rosy, little boy who stood inside peeping through the bars. Mrs. Carter, wondering what occasion Mr. Means could possibly have for stopping at their house, hurried out. After the usual salutations Mr. Means asked: "Mrs. Carter, would you consider parting with this child? We have none of our own, and I think he is an adorable little fellow. If you will consent to our adopting him, he shall have the best the world can give in education and preparation for life." The answer came quickly: "There is not enough gold in the universe to even suggest the temptation to

part with our little son." And so Tommy remained Tommy Carter and did not become Thomas Means.

By the end of the Civil War the Carters, besides supporting their five children, had succeeded in saving up the tidy sum of three thousand dollars. They decided to take the advice of Horace Greeley, and went West, buying a house in Pana, a little town in Central Illinois. Later forty acres of land just on the outskirts of the town were procured and Mr. Carter, aided by Richard and Thomas, the two eldest boys, and by Jack and Joe, a team of mules, began farming. They worked on the land every day of the spring and summer, driving to it of a morning from the home in town, where the team was kept, taking a cold lunch, and returning at dusk. Only when winter rendered further work impossible could the two boys (they were about thirteen and eleven years of age) attend school for a few months—till time for Spring plowing.¹

Yet the intellectual life of Thomas was not so neglected as might be imagined under such circumstances. His father was a well-educated man, having a passion for reading, and possessed of a retentive memory. He seems to have been rather ill-suited to the laborious task of farming; it was the mother, a woman with practical views of life, an abiding realization of family responsibilities, industrious and thrifty, who was the real director of family affairs. The father, inclined to be a dreamer and an idealist, gladly let her do the managing; he considered it his duty to see that his childrens' minds were properly trained. And he seems to have been very successful in awakening their ambition along the lines of education and the cultivation of their mental gifts. All learned to make the best use of leisure moments as an aid to the attaining of their ambition, some profession or other. Richard, the eldest, hoped to be a doctor; Thomas favored the legal profession. Both were eventually to attain to their ambition.

After several years of farming the forty acres, Mr. Carter rented a larger farm about three miles from Pana. Then he bought a quarter section, a beautifully located place, for which he borrowed the purchase money, secured by a mortgage on the land. It was too big a venture. The added acreage made necessary a great amount of work on the part of the father and his

¹ Thomas's schooling, all in all, amounted to these few months each winter from 1869 to 1874.

three sons (Edward, the youngest, was about eleven), work that lasted sometimes far into the night. Moreover, farming implements and teams had to be bought; and the extra help required to assist in putting in the crops added enormously to expenses. Then the house was an unfinished frame, not even plastered, was uninviting, desolate, bare; indeed only "a place to obtain food and to sleep when exhausted from endless toil."

Yet even in such circumstances books were treasured and read eagerly when opportunity offered. An incident, which took place but a month and a half after the Carters had settled in the new place, is a good illustration. About two in the afternoon a sky such as Julia, who tells the story, says she had never seen before, shrouded the earth in darkness. The men in the fields took their teams to the big barn, and then came into the house to await the passing of the storm. Everybody was terrified, especially Julia, who thought it was the day of doom. She ran upstairs, and lo!—there was Thomas Henry, calm and unperturbed, buried in a book!

That storm, however, was a turning point in the family's history. Of a sudden a blaze was seen from the barn roof. Lightning had struck, killing every mule and horse and burning to cinders barn, stock, machinery, hay, everything—and not one penny of insurance! The mortgagee became owner of the land by foreclosure, and the family moved back to the old home, the one first bought on their arrival from Ohio. "Then came the reality of trying to be at least self-supporting."

Julia, the oldest girl, went to the county seat, Taylorville, passed the examination and obtained a permit to teach. Mr. Carter (who certainly had a tragic story of his own to tell his prospects) tried his hand at the insurance business, while Thomas found work at the building of the railroad shops then being erected by the Indianapolis and St. Louis Railroad, later a part of the Big Four. His "occupation" was that of a teamster, driving a dump-board wagon while they excavated the foundations. The income of these three sufficed for the family budget and Richard was allowed to begin his study of medicine in the office of Dodge and Deming, two old, established physicians of the town. Thomas, of course, had not given up his hopes of the legal profession, and spent his evenings at home studying. His work for the railroad was by its very nature temporary, and when September came both he and Richard

passed examinations for County Certificates to teach and were fortunate enough to secure schools for the term. These schools were several miles from Pana and they had to walk both ways, which was not always so pleasant during the winter; and, as back in Ohio, they carried their lunch in the little tin bucket.

In the early spring, just after the closing of the schools, a representative of the publishing house of R. T. Root of Burlington, Iowa, visited Pana. In connection with other business, he was also in search of young men with the address, intelligence, and personality to become successful book agents. Carter heard of this Mr. Segner and went to see him. The result was an engagement to travel through several states canvassing for a book called The Footprints of Time and a Complete Analysis of Our American System of Government, written by Charles Bancroft Walker. (Incidentally it might be mentioned that the author later became a confidential friend of Mr. Carter's, and it was at the advice of the author that the future Senator moved to Montana in 1882.) Traveling and canvassing in those days was not easy work. It meant tramping country roads and lanes in hail, rain, sleet, and snow, as well as in fair weather-always on foot except in case of a "lift," which came rarely. And the farms were far apart. Laborious as the work was, Mr. Carter, when a Senator, often said that it was chiefly as a result of his experience as a book-agent that he had obtained his very remarkable knowledge of men. Each prospective customer was another chapter of the book whence he learned human character. The result of three years of this schooling, however, was an attack of inflammatory rheumatism that nearly cost him his life. While yet dangerously ill he was advised to take treatment at Hot Springs, Arkansas. "This apparently restored his health," his sister writes, "yet it has always been my opinion that his heart was never after free from the weakening effects of that long illness-it probably shortened his life."

After recovery, Mr. Root asked him to take charge of the Sales Department of the House. This meant occasional trips to sections of the various states, disposing of certain territories with accompanying rights to sell the book in those fields. One such trip was taken to assist his own father in organizing preparatory to selling the book in the state of Kentucky, the elder Mr. Carter having previously purchased the rights from Mr. Root.

Thomas Carter was thus engaged near Omaha, Nebraska, in March, 1879, when he received word that his mother was very ill with pneumonia. And before he could get to Pana she had passed away, March 15, 1879. Thomas and his father arrived only in time for the funeral held at the little Pana church.²

We had best let Julia tell us of how her big brother came to the rescue in the trying time that followed her mother's death. "At this special time, of all periods in our life," she writes, "the very human, gentle, and sympathetic nature of Thomas manifested itself most noticeably. Richard was still struggling at the medical college;3 father was not very successful South; I was earning only a small sum teaching in the school at Pana; a little brother and sister were still in school, helpless, and, as it appeared, destined to be homeless. My words cannot describe the nobility with which Thomas came to our rescue, bringing us hope in our desolation, encouraging us for the future; broken-hearted as we were, lonely, and despairing, his generous heart seemed to enclose us in his sympathy and loving kindness." But Thomas Carter was not merely a consoler, he was also a man of action, as is shown by Julia's next sentence: "Immediately everything was disposed of, and within a week we were with him in the city that was to be our home until our final move to Helena, in 1883."

That city was Burlington, Iowa. A small house was rented and fitted out as economically as was consonant with a real home. Chiefly through associations formed at the old St. Paul's parish church, the two girls acquired many new friends and "ere long life resumed a more rosy hue." For some time practically the only source of income was what Thomas earned in the publishing company. At twenty-five, then, he was supporting two sisters and a young brother and helping an older brother through his medical course. (Mr. Carter did no more than support himself by selling books in Kentucky.) And yet, after all expenses were paid, some money was saved every month, so that within a few years they were in a position to purchase a lot and build their own home on Prospect Hill.

² Father Storpe was then pastor; but Father John W. Crowe of Mattoon, Ill., preached the funeral sermon. Mrs. Carter's grave is on the slope of old West Mound Cemetery at Pana. Mr. Carter's remains lie beside those of his wife. He died at St. Joseph's Hospital, Colorado Springs, twentyfour years later, in 1902.

³ Rush Medical College, Chicago.

During this period Thomas was more than a brother to his younger sisters. Richard was about to graduate and start his professional work, and Edward was old enough to take care of himself. So, after a time, Thomas's chief care was for his sisters. To them he was their all, and his kindness was never forgotten. Fifty years later the elder, Julia, could write of that period of her life as one of exceptional peace and happiness. "We were living in the most beautiful and helpful atmosphere," she writes. "Kindly consideration for each other never ceased I still hear the tone of his voice as he returned home at night with, 'Girls, where are you?' and then an affectionate kiss. Nor did he ever leave the house in the morning without the same 'Goodbye' His thought of us seemed to be the one uppermost. He anticipated our needs, suggesting, for instance, 'it's time, girls, that you had new dresses. I insist that you purchase them today."

This love for his sisters shines forth clearly at the death of the younger of them. Margaret had a very mild and sweet disposition, was deeply spiritual, sensitive, loving—and adored by her big brother, Tom, as she adored him. After they had moved to Montana she married Thomas Cruse, and a year later, December 31, 1888, passed away, twelve days after the birth of her child. It was twelve minutes after ten at night, and for a whole year the hands of Thomas's watch remained exactly at the moment of her death.⁴ Nor would he ever after sing a song which had formerly been a favorite in the Carter family, "He Doth All Things Well." To the last hour of his life, his sister says, he would shed tears if that song were even mentioned.

As might be expected from children both of whose parents had been born and raised in Ireland, the Carters had a great love of music. In varying degrees each had some talent. Both Julia and Margaret belonged to the old St. Paul's choir in

⁴ Among those present in the room were the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brondel, Thomas Cruse, Thomas Carter with his wife and mother-in-law, Julia Carter and her husband, Mr. T. S. Lang, and Dr. Wm. Treacy.

⁵ The words of the song:
I remember well my sorrow
As I knelt beside her bed
And my deep and heartfelt anguish
When they told me she was dead.
And oh! that cup of bitterness
Let not my heart repel.
God gave. He took. He will restore.
He doth all things well.

That star went down in beauty,
Yet it shineth sweetly now
In that bright and dazzling coronet
That decks the Saviour's brow.
She bowed to the Destroyer,
Whose shafts none may repel.
We know, for God hath told us,
He doth all things well.

Burlington, and all found singing more enjoyable than other more expensive forms of recreation. Many an evening or Sunday afternoon was spent with Tom singing to Margaret's accompaniment. The frequency with which these two sang together the song, "He Doth All Things Well," probably accounts for Thomas's refusal, after Margaret's death, ever to sing it again.

During these years at Burlington, although it might seem that his work at the publishing house had become permanent, Thomas never abandoned his legal ambitions. He continued his studies, whether at home or on the road. Indeed it was while on a business trip in Nebraska that he had passed the bar examinations in that state. Thus the future senator gained his knowledge of law without help or guidance of any kind; even more, he gained it in spite of really appalling difficulties. These difficulties were, however, totally extrinsic, for Thomas Carter was very gifted mentally. His longing for knowledge, like that of his father's, amounted almost to a passion. Concentration of mind was his in a degree seldom attained by men, and any subject, once tackled, was completely mastered before another was taken up. Perhaps the very denial of educational opportunities, for which he longed so ardently, helped to create this stubborn will and unswerving determination to succeed in spite of "unkind fate."7

In May, 1882, Thomas Carter left Iowa for Montana. He was ready to begin the practice of law, and chose the West in preference to the more crowded cities of the East and Middle West. In so doing he was also following the advice of friends, among them the author of "Footprints of Time," Mr. Walker. He went alone, leaving his brother and two sisters in Burlington. It seems he continued for some time after his arrival in Montana to sell books to support himself, but only until he could get a start at his law practice. He began by forming a partnership with John B. Clayton, a partnership that was to last a great many years. He was, for a while, counsel for the Wells Fargo

⁶ In 1879 according to one report; in 1881 according to Mrs. Lang.

⁷ Senator Carter, unlike some other "self-made" men, fully appreciated the value of education. He often expressed regret that he had been unable to go to school in his youth. He gave his two sons every educational advantage.

³ Mr. David Hilger, the Librarian of the Montana Historical Society, stated this very expressly in a letter to the author of this paper.

Express Company. His first public office was that of public administrator for the County of Lewis and Clark, in which county, Helena, the State Capital, is situated. Thus gradually he made progress in his profession and became fairly well known locally. A year after his own arrival in Helena he felt sufficiently settled and satisfied to send for his two sisters and his brother. They came in June, 1883.

On January 27, 1886, Thomas Henry Carter was married to Miss Ellen Lilian Galen at the Cathedral in St. Paul, Minnesota, by Father Shanley, afterwards Bishop of Fargo, N. D. The bride came from a family well known in Montana, her father

being very prominent in the state's early history.9

When, in 1888, Mr. Carter was made a nominee for the office of delegate to Congress from the Territory of Montana, he began a public career that was to continue almost unbroken until his death in 1911. To narrate the multifarious accomplishments of this long and very active period of his life would require a book. We shall be content to trace briefly this phenomenal span of almost a quarter of a century during which his reputation "spread beyond the narrow boundaries of his own state" until he became "a recognized figure of national importance; the welcome associate of the greatest intellects in the nation; the peer of the ablest statesmen in the land; the trusted friend and counsellor of presidents." 10

Although Montana had, for many years previously, been apparently irremediably Democratic, Thomas Carter, in great part due to his wonderful personality, was selected by a large majority. For it was during this campaign which marked his entrance into major politics, that he first had a real opportunity to demonstrate his wonderful physical endurance, his oratorical ability, his influence over the minds of all with whom he came

⁹ Miss Ellen L. Galen, daughter of Hugh F. and Matilda Gillogly Galen, was born at the Dalles, Oregon. Her father was one of the prominent pioneers of the state of Montana, going there to make his home in 1866. The Galens are mentioned in Fr. Palladino's book, *Indian and White in the Northwest*. The present Judge Albert J. Galen of the Supreme Court of Montana is a brother-in-law of Senator Carter. Mrs. Ellen Galen Carter is yet living in Washington, D. C., but is reported to be very ill (May, 1929).

¹⁰ The Hon. Lee Mantle, from whose address, given in memory of Senator Carter, a month after his death, the above quotation is taken, was also the one who placed him in nomination as the Republican candidate for Delegate. Mr. Mantle later became United States Senator as a colleague of his friend.

in contact. These characteristics mark, in an increasing degree, all his subsequent campaigns.

Mr. Carter took his seat in the House, March 4, 1889; he ceased to be a Delegate, October 8, 1889. For, during the term of his predecessor, Mr. Toole, an act had been passed enabling Montana to enter the Union. So, on November 8, 1889, Montana became the forty-first state, and Thomas Carter became its first Representative in the House, his term expiring on March 4, 1891. In this fifty-first Congress Representative Carter was Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining. Indeed, his natural ability, his knowledge of public questions, and readiness to debate, combined with his personal popularity, enabled him to gain almost immediately an influence rarely attained except after years of service. In 1890 he was appointed secretary of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, and in 1891 President Harrison appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. "His appointment to this important position was hailed with delight by the people of the west who had suffered much from the unjust restrictions and vexatious rules, due to ignorance of western conditions, which then prevailed in that department of the government. Under his intelligent and vigorous administration, its policies were immediately liberalized, its burdensome rules suspended, its business facilitated and placed upon a reasonable basis."11

It was during this term as Representative that Mr. Carter proved himself a friend of the Catholic Missions in Montana. The Government had long been unfairly discriminating against Catholic schools for Indians in the matter of subsidies. Joseph K. Toole, during his term as Delegate, had framed a measure to eliminate this unfairness, while on assuming Mr. Toole's place, Mr. Carter adopted the former's measure, "and not only brought it before the House, but ably defended it against the attacks of the A. P. A., and pressed it to a successful issue." This measure especially benefited St. Ignatius Mission.

Father Cataldo, S. J., Superior of the Missions, appealed in 1885 to the Government for authorization to erect a mission

¹¹ From the speech of the Hon. Lee Mantle.

^{12 &}quot;The A. P. A. Society published a circular violently assailing me for introducing and pressing the measure and it was my privilege to defend the assault at the time " (From a letter of Sen. Carter's to Fr. Palladino cited in *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 499).

¹⁵ Palladino, op. cit., 159-60.

school on the respective reservations belonging to the Blackfeet, Fort Peck, and Crow Agencies. Moreover, when the accommodations were ready, the Government was asked for an allowance for one hundred Indian children at the Holy Family School. "A bill to that effect was introduced by the Hon. T. H. Carter, Montana's Delegate to Congress, and passed the House, and also the Senate, although, because of the opposition of the Indian Office, the Senate Committee had reported it adversely." 14

Even before Mr. Carter became influential in politics, however, he was prominent in the Catholic activities of the state. One of the first acquaintances he made on arriving in Montana was that of Father Palladino, S. J., one of the old missionaries from Italy, and in 1882 pastor at Helena. "A young man, an entire stranger, far from home, and deeply sensitive to either a smile of welcome or a cheerless greeting," Thomas Carter made an early call at the rectory. "He was won and made a life-long friend by the words of encouragement given by Father Palladino, who advised his young friend to remain at Helena, saying that it was a new and growing town and Montana a wealthy state. He assured him that he would make a success of his practice of law there." This bit of timely encouragement was never forgotten by the grateful young man.¹⁵

When in 1884 Helena was created a See by Leo XIII and the Rt. Rev. John B. Brondel was chosen as its first bishop, the city, especially the Catholic portion of it, took steps "towards a becoming expression of their grateful feelings and filial devotion for their chief pastor." Accordingly, on the occasion of the first Diccesan Synod, the Hon. T. H. Carter, on behalf of the whole Catholic community, presented to the Rt. Rev. Bishop an address and a testimonial. The address, delivered "on the front steps of the episcopal residence elicited the warmest approval from both the clergy and the laity . . . "17 Several years

¹⁴ Palladino, op. cit., 228 and 274; Cong. Directory, July 25, 1890.

¹⁵ Fr. Palladino, though then retired from active missionary work, survived his young friend by sixteen years. He lived in Montana all his subsequent life, passing away in 1927 at the ripe old age of 93 years. In 1893 he published a book, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, and in 1922 issued a revised and enlarged edition.

¹⁶ Interesting are the names of those at the synod: Bishop Brondel; Frs. J. Menetrey, Jos. Cataldo, Jos. Guidi, F. Eberschweiler, Jos. Damiani, C. Imoda, P. Barcelo, L. B. Palladino, and Jerome D'Aste, all of the Society of Jesus; Frs. E. W. J. Lindesmith, J. J. Dols, R. DeRyckere, and L. Trembley of the secular clergy.
¹⁷ Palladino, op. cit., 431-32.

later, in 1891, when Bishop Brondel had some difficulty with the Butte congregation over the expenses incurred in building St. Patrick's School in that city, he chose Thomas Carter as a mediator. "There was good reason to hope that Mr. Carter's suggestions, while practical and conclusive to the end in view, would also be received even more readily than if coming directly from the Ordinary himself, as just at this time some few of the Butte congregation did not appear to be so well disposed towards their chief pastor as they ought to have been. Mr. Carter, however, was then in politics, and opponents looked upon his going to Butte on the occasion as a move to boost political aspirations, which was enough to render his mission pretty much of a failure." 18

As a Catholic, Mr. Carter was very faithful to his religious duties. In the small church at Pana he and Richard had been taught to serve Mass by Father Julian Turnell, and, while in later life, especially when travelling, there were times when religious duties were unavoidably foregone, yet the old faith burned brightly. He never forgot the prayers and devotional exercises taught him and his brothers and sisters by their mother. "God's Will be done," seems to have been a motto and a guiding principle of his life. It betrays itself in his actions and writings and conversations. Wherever he was, he was on good terms with the clergy, whether with the old Jesuit missionaries out in Montana or with the faculty of Georgetown University in Washington.

On July 16, 1891, the Hon. T. H. Carter was selected Chairman of the National Republican Committee to conduct the presidential campaign of 1892. Thus, "less than four years after his first appearance on the stage of local politics," he was chosen to fill "the highest position attainable in the management of national party politics." This was a most remarkable tribute to his abilities as an organizer and of the confidence reposed in him by the great party leaders. "I doubt," continues the Hon. Lee Mantle, "if in the annals of political history there is another instance of such a rapid rise from comparative obscurity to political and national prominence." In the election, Harrison, running for reelection, was defeated by Cleveland. After the campaign Thomas Carter, who had resigned his office of Commissioner of the General Land Office to become Chairman of the

¹⁸ Palladino, op. cit., 354-55.

Campaign Committee, resumed the practice of law at Helena, in which he was very successful.

In the year 1895 he was again sent to Washington, this time as a senator. As he already possessed a comprehensive knowledge of public affairs and was well known as a national figure, he became immediately a recognized factor of importance in that body. He was appointed a member of the Senate Committees on appropriations, on public lands and territories, on military affairs, on postoffice matters. He was chairman of the Committee on Census. But primarily he was a prominent speaker on any matter that came before the Senate. It came to be generally acknowledged that "for vitality of mind and body, for energy and cleverness, for elegance of diction in speaking, and for humorous story-telling, "Tom' Carter had few peers." He always won attention when he spoke, and he was always a welcome speaker, whether in the Senate chamber or on special occasions elsewhere.

It was during this term of office that the Senator from Montana became outstanding as an advocate of land reclamation in the West. "To Senator Carter, next to Theodore Roosevelt, must be given the place of honor in securing (the) great constructive legislation which is bringing such vast benefits to our own state [Montana] and to the West in general," says Mr. Mantle. "He was one of the pioneers, the very ablest champion and advocate of the movement that led to these mighty undertakings which have since transformed into smiling fields and fruitful orchards millions of acres of barren soil "

The same familiar friend of the Senator maintains that it was primarily in the interest of western land reclamation that his colleague made his famous filibuster at the close of the last session of this term. A sixty million dollar river and harbor bill was before the Senate. Although the bill, which greatly favored the eastern section of the country, was unpopular, especially among those interested in the West, the Senate seemed likely to pass it. Senator Carter gained the floor and began a speech which lasted over ten hours, until the session came to a close. "This most remarkable effort attracted the attention of the whole country Notwithstanding its great length and the fact that it was delivered without rest or intermission, it was full of interest, replete with facts, figures, and illustrations, and interspersed throughout with caustic satire

and scathing ridicule. It succeeded in its purpose of killing the bill and in compelling future recognition of the just demands of the West for government aid in the reclamation of the vast areas of arid lands." It was Mr. Mantle's belief that "from the moment of [this speech's] delivery the ultimate success of the reclamation movement was assured. Appropriations followed and soon thereafter the initial steps were taken in the construction of those stupendous irrigation projects which are today the wonder and admiration of the scientific world." 20

It was said at the time that Senator Carter killed this bill at the direct request of President McKinley, who realized that he would have to veto it should it pass, and who disliked the possibility of such a contingency. The veto would have been demanded not only because of the unpopularity of the bill in certain quarters, but also because the bill was too extravagant

for the condition of the treasury at the time.

In the 1901 election the Legislature went Democratic, and Senator Carter, who had run for reelection, was defeated. Out of public life for four years, he set himself again to his profession and once more was eminently successful in it. However, he was not completely out of the public's eye even during these few years. In 1901 President McKinley, in appreciation, so the rumor had it, of Mr. Carter's famous speech, appointed him to membership on the Louisiana Exposition Committee, and subsequently he was elected its president. The office lasted until the end of the Exposition at St. Louis in 1904.²¹ The next year, 1905, he was a second time elected to the Senate. Outstanding during this term of office was his appointment as a member of the Joint High Committee on Boundary Waters between the United States and Canada, a post of international importance, which he was still holding at the time of his death.

Towards the close of his term, he formulated and introduced a bill for the creation of a system of postal savings banks. "He had long been impressed with the need of this legislation and had devoted a vast amount of time and labor and research to a thorough study of the subject and to its operation in other lands. The bill met with powerful and stubborn opposition from

¹⁰ March 3, 1901.

²⁰ A Reclamation Act was passed June 17, 1901.

³¹ During his stay in St. Louis in connection with the Exposition, Senator Carter delivered a very fine speech at the dedication of one of the schools of St. Louis University.

the very outset and every inch of its progress was vigorously contested." The opposition, however, could not "withstand the force, eloquence, and persistence with which he urged it, and none could successfully controvert the facts, figures and logic with which he so ably defended it. And finally the victory was won and he enjoyed the intense gratification of seeing this product of his creative genius, into which he had thrown his whole heart, power and influence, become a law of the land."²²

Those who knew Senator Carter during this term of office never dreamed it was to be his last. Nor, in fact, did the Senator himself, although he seems to have had some premonitions. During the last summer of his life, he was obliged to remain in Washington until July, as the Senate was in session. After a rather hurried trip to the Pacific Coast and Montana, he was back in Washington in early August on his way to join his family at Isleboro, Maine. His last evening in New York, en route, was spent with his younger brother, E. J. Carter, and John D. Ryan. His brother accompanied him to the station, and as the night was very sultry, they walked along the train platform chatting about this and that. But health was the chief topic; they spoke of their occasional attacks of real and imaginary ills. Among other things the Senator said that his physician had told him he must stop smoking-he said, too, that his heart was behaving ill of late, palpitating strongly at times. "Well, Jack," the Senator concluded the conversation, "what does it matter at this stage of the game?" A month later Senator Carter was dead.

The cause of this early death has been variously conjectured. The simplest explanation seems to be that of a newspaper writer of the time: "the former senator's inability to quit working hastened his end." In October of the previous year he had gone to Missoula, Montana, to attend the State Convention, at which, after a very fine speech, he was nominated to succeed himself in the Senate. The campaign that followed was the most strenuous of all his political life. He failed to be reelected by a very small majority. As a result of the campaign, he was in a rather run-down condition physically. Moreover, the defeat, proving, as he believed, the disloyalty of trusted friends, had a depressing and telling effect on his mind as well. His plans, if

²² Mr. Mantle believed this to be the "crowning act of Senator Carter's brilliant legislative career."

he had been elected, were, he confided to his sister, to retire after the completion of that term, when his sons would be through college and law school, and to resume the practice of law with them. But, following this failure, came the intensely enervating summer weather at Washington in 1911, and the once vigorous Senator Carter changed rapidly for the worse. "During those twelve months, strength and every vestige of vitality seemed to be leaving him. His step became slow and measured, almost feeble. To add another painful realization to declining health, there was the knowledge of failing sight. His eyes, specialists had decided, should soon be operated on for cataracts." To his physicians it was plain that the Senator was nearing the end; he had burnt out his life in too strenuous labor from the time of his boyhood.

Political circles, however, were discussing, not the possibility of Senator Carter's death, but the probability of his being chosen a member of President Taft's Cabinet. It was well known that he was a main reliance of the President, was frequently in conference with him, and had helped to write the presidential messages regarding the tariff bills. Others advanced the opinion that he would be chosen Chairman of the 1912 Republican National Committee. Or again he was a possible candidate against Dixon in 1913. And so the rumors floated about, especially that of the Cabinet membership, until, quite suddenly, it was announced that Senator Carter was seriously ill.

During his stay in Maine, August, 1911, the Senator had been unwell. He returned to Washington with his family on September 8. The next day he went out, saw his physician, visited his office (he was at the time Chairman of the International Boundary Committee), and made arrangements to meet a friend the following day. But the next morning he was unable to arise from his bed. Physicians were summoned, a specialist in heart diseases coming from John Hopkins after a few days. A week later, about two o'clock on Sunday morning, September 17, Senator Carter, with a single sigh, passed away very peacefully. It was "at home, 23 in his own room, and in his own bed," as he kept repeating during the week's illness, that this great lover of his home on earth went to a better home.

The funeral took place at St. Paul's Church in Washington with the Apostolic Delegate, Diomede Falconio, giving the final

^{23 1528 16}th St., Washington, D. C.

absolution. The honorary pallbearers were: Chief Justice White and Associate Justice McKenna; James A. Towney and Frank S. Streetor, members of the Joint High Commission; Senators Brondgee, Penrose, Crane, and former-Senator William Chandler; Hannis Taylor of Washington and Attorney General A. G. Galen of Montana. In the sanctuary, besides the Senator's many friends among the clergy of Washington, was the faculty of Georgetown University. The final resting place of the Senator's remains is on the slope of beautiful Mt. Olivet Cemetery near Washington.

Senator Carter, as viewed by the men with whom he associated in political life, "was one of the most remarkable personalities in the public life of the United States." He was picturesque in character and mode of acting; he was not less so in appearance.24 All who knew him recognized in him a man of exceptional intellectual gifts. He was a man of action, a strong personality. Such men, especially when occupying conspicuous positions and carrying the responsibilities of management and leadership, are bound to arouse enmities; and Senator Carter did arouse bitter enemies. Sometimes this was due to prejudice and ill will on their part, at other times it was the result of the Senator's own faults and mistakes. Carter was a politician in the highest and best sense of the term. He sought and enjoyed political power and office because they gave him a broad opportunity for the gratification of his natural talents and bent of mind, and for the exercise of his exceptional qualifications for public life." He was not a compromiser, but "a strong, vigorous partisan, advocating and defending his political belief with a force and eloquence rarely surpassed." It is true that "he was politically ambitious, but his ambition was tempered with a deep love of country and an earnest desire for the welfare of its people." Even his enemies acknowledged his sincerity and earnestness, denying only that what he considered the best way was actually the best. He was broadminded enough not to carry political differences into personal relations, and, "no matter how bitterly partisan warfare might be raging, he could meet his antagonists

²⁴ Thus he wore a beard of the billy-goat variety, which led to his being selected as "champion of whiskers in a debate at the National Press Club (in 1910), when with former speaker Cannon, he defended the cause of whiskers against Rep. Longworth and Sen. Taylor, who allowed that a bald head was a better asset in the world's battles than whiskers." But besides having whiskers, Senator Carter was bald, too.

in friendly social and personal intercourse." "In fact," writes the Hon. Lee Mantle, "it was well nigh impossible for coolness to exist when subjected to the genial warmth of his personal presence." Although Senator Carter did not bring partisan strife into personal relations, yet he did use his personal affability to gain political ends. More than once he employed the same friendly manner of intimate conversation to gain over a hostile audience.25 With all his fiery vehemence when in action, he was one of the most approachable men in public life. He was always self-composed, at ease, and never without something to say if the occasion demanded it. He was ever a welcome guest, "either in the miner's cabin, the meal on a tin plate, or at a White House state dinner and gold service." Such was Senator Carter to his political colleagues and supporters. Back in the state which gave him the opportunity to display his character to the whole nation, his name became, so to speak, "a household word"; back in Montana "there is not a village, or hamlet, that has ever forgotten his genial presence, his splendid speeches, his intensely human and kindly nature, with always a smile and a word of good cheer for the lowly and poor, ready and willing, on all occasions, to be of any assistance by word or by kindly generous act."

This might possibly have been show, done to further political ambitions. We know, however, that such was the real character of Thomas Carter, for we can look at him through the eyes of one who knew him very intimately, through the eyes of his sister. She briefly sums up her brother's public life with a quotation from Tennyson's "Ode to the Duke of Wellington":

Great in Council, and great in war; Foremost captain of his time. Rich in saving, common sense, And, as the greatest only are, In his simplicity, sublime.

²⁵ Thus when Helena and Anaconda were in the race for the Capital of Montana, Mr. Carter made a tour, speaking in favor of Helena. Travelling along the Bitter Root Valley he came to Hamilton, a veritable stronghold of the opposition. Those were the days of impressive speech, and the report was broadcast that whoever attempted to speak in Hamilton in the interest of Helena would pay with his life. The meeting was called; the gathering did not apparently augur success. They were willing, however, to wait a few minutes before starting the fireworks. But he who hesitates is lost, for in less than those few minutes the speaker had the crowd in peals of laughter. "He was telling apt stories and quoting Bobby Burns. And apparently all their murderous intentions had given way to admiration, for the crowd's countenance spoke plainly that 'we like that fellow.'"

But she prefers to leave his public life to enter the inner sanctum, "He Himself," as she says. She recalls "just a loving, kind, sympathetic brother, a man of wisdom, of staunch character, a haven of refuge and peace and consolation amid all life's storms. Always serene and self-possessed, dependable and loyal, 'his life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him that all the world might say, "This was a man." '" This tribute of a sister, who was more or less a confidante, shows best the real Thomas Carter.

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LAURENCE P. MCHATTIE

DOCUMENTS THE FIRST ILLINOIS WHEAT

The Illinois Country was at an early date the granary of the French settlements, and travellers and memorialists seldom failed to note that the Illinois settlers were successfully cultivating wheat. Its introduction in the Illinois Country has usually been attributed to the Jesuit missionaries. Alvord, the historian of Illinois, remarks: "The most important crop was wheat, its cultivation having been early introduced by the Jesuits." An ornamental advertisement in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, bearing the title, Premiere Culture de Bled aux Illinois, describes its alleged introduction by Zebedée, a donné of the Jesuit missionaries at the Kaskaskia.2 In the March of 1718 Zebedée sowed a bushel of wheat and at the end of July gathered a harvest of ninety bushels. Zebedée's neighbors promptly followed his example.3 How well they succeeded is evident from the notes of visitors and travellers. Some of these, however, indicate that the cultivation of wheat in the Illinois Country must have begun before 1718. As early as 1687 Joutel, describing the sojourn of the Abbé Cavelier and his companions at Fort St. Louis, mentions

¹ The Illinois Country, p. 208. Mrs. Miller Surrey after a similar statement notes the amount of flour shipped to the New Orleans market from year to year. The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763, p. 288.

³ Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. fr. nouvelles acquisitions, 2552:161. Mrs. Miller Surrey's planograph calendar of material on American history in the French archives dates the document 1735. The accompanying cut is from a photostat copy in the Congressional Library. A number of other documents framed, like the present one, in decorative borders are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, a not unlikely conjecture being that they were originally made for display with a view to interesting the public in the Illinois country. A translation of the "wheat-document" follows:

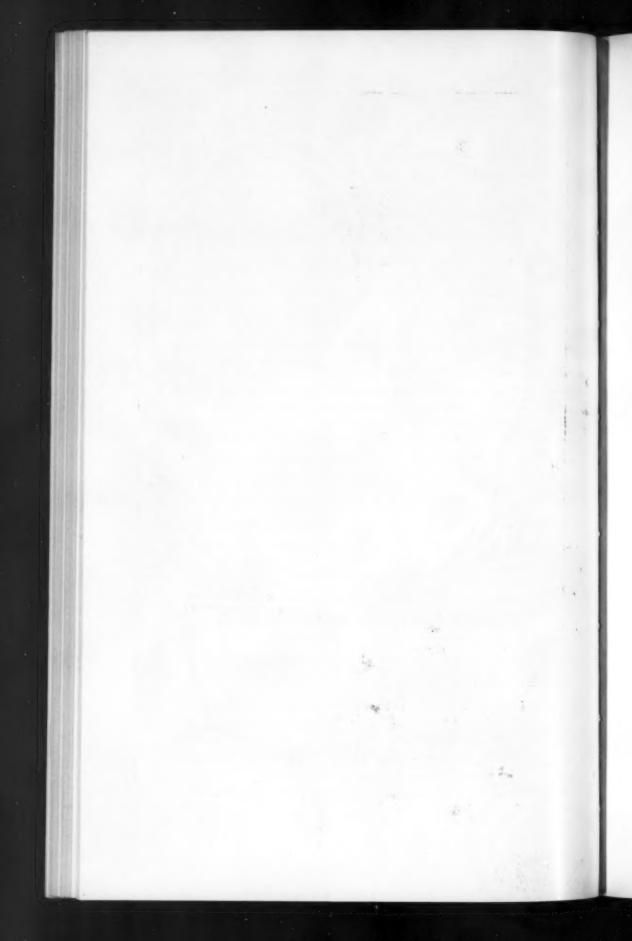
[&]quot;THE FIRST CULTIVATION OF WHEAT AT THE ILLINOIS

A man named Zebedée from Breda in Brabant, a donné of the Jesuit Fathers, who was with the missionaries of this order at the Illinois, made the first plow there in 1718 and tilled a bit of the broad prairies which are there. In March he sowed a bushel of wheat and reaped from it ninety bushels at the end of July.

His example has caused the habitants to till the earth and to cultivate wheat. Some of them as well as the Jesuit Fathers have changed the time of sowing and since 1720 it is done at the end of October and the harvest from the land thus sowed is made in the beginning of July."

³ In the Register of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia (Randolph County, Illinois) it is recorded that the donné Zebedée Le Jeune died December 18, 1727, and was interred in the parish church under the second pew from the middle.





that wheat brought from Canada had been sown and that they had eaten bread made from it at the fort. The cultivation of wheat at Fort St. Louis could not have been extensive, however, for Joutel mentions that, as there was not much of it, they usually ate Indian corn. M. Crozat, writing to the Council of the Marine in 1716 about the connection that ought to exist between the post at the Akansa and those at the Wabash and at the Illinois, refers to the necessity of getting wheat and flour at the Illinois. A memorialist of 1718 represents the Kaskaskia Indians as industrious; moreover, "in addition to raising a large supply of maize, the Indians thereabouts produce also considerable wheat . . . The wheat comes up very fine there; it is sown in autumn."

Lallemant writing to the Directors of the Company of the Indies in 1721 furnishes interesting data about the cultivation of wheat by the French Canadian settlers at Kaskaskia. "The little prairie of the Kaskaskia alone has furnished all the French wheat, a minot [39 liters] sells for from ten to twelve livres according to the times. Formerly it was not of such value and it is only since two or three years that its value has risen." He mentions further that the seed is planted from March to April twentieth and that the wheat is harvested from July to August fifteenth.7 Father Charlevoix, a Jesuit visitor to the Kaskaskia in that same year, reports the French as being "at their ease"; moreover, "a Fleming, a servant of the Jesuits, has taught them to sow wheat, and it thrives very well."8 Another official visitor to Kaskaskia two years later (1723) notes how successfully wheat was cultivated there. Says Dartaguiette, the Inspector General of Louisiana: "French wheat grows very well there and of a fine quality, of which they gather a fairly large quantity which they sell for the subsistence of the troops Several inhabitants also have tread mills of their own with which they grind their French wheat."9

Cleveland, Ohio S1

SISTER MALY BORGIAS, S. N. D., A. M.

⁴ Journal in Margry, Découvertes et Etablissements des François dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale des François dans memoires et documents inedits, 3:493...

<sup>Archives Nationales, Colonies, 13A 4:120.
New York Colonial Documents, 9:891.</sup>

[†] Archives Service Hydrographique, 115: No. 29. ⁸ Charlevoix, A Voyage to North America, 2:166.

⁹ "Journal of Diron d'Artaguiette, Inspector General of Louisiana, 1722-1723" in Mereness, Travels in the North American Colonies, 67, 68.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

On June 17, 1930, in the Cathedral of Belleville, Illinois, Monsignor Joseph H. L. Schlarman was consecrated Bishop of Peoria, his Eminence Cardinal Mundelein assisted by Bishops Althoff and Hoban being the consecrating prelate. new incumbent of the see of Peoria MID-AMERICA extends its most cordial congratulations and good wishes with a prayer that every blessing of heaven may rest upon him in his shepherding of this portion of the Christian flock. It is especially gratifying to the managing personnel of a Catholic historical review to see the ranks of the American hierarchy reenforced by one who has already achieved distinction as an historian of note and whose antecedents give assurance that he will lend from the vantage point of his new dignity sympathy and support to the promotion of the great cause of Catholic history in the United States. Bishop Schlarman's recently issued From Quebec to New Orleans is a retelling, in agreeable literary form and with abounding evidence of critical scholarship and research, of one of the most fascinating historical themes of all time—the never-to-be-forgotten adventure political, social and religious of the French people on the stage of New France. The pageantry and drama of it all live again in the pages of this engaging book. Inevitably missionary zeal and enterprise loom large in the story; the adventure of the eager Gallic pioneers that led them from semi-Arctic Quebec to semi-tropical New Orleans was motived largely by religious aims. Champlain and his successors sought not less to extend the empire of the Cross than to build up French political power and prestige in the New World. It is among the merits of Bishop Schlarman's book that this key to a correct understanding of the history of New France determines in great measure the course of the narrative and the selection of data. Other skillful hands have handled the same theme, Parkman, Finlay, and, quite recently, Professor Wrong of Toronto; but none have succeeded better than the Bishop of Peoria in bringing out in due relief the commanding share of Catholic missionaries of the Gospel in the development of New France.

The book, one must not fail to mention, is admirably illustrated, the appeal of the text being heightened repeatedly by effective appeal to the eye.

MID-AMERICA extends a cordial hand of welcome to the lower Catholic Historical Review, the initial number of which bears date January, 1930. This new serial is the official organ of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society and is published by that organization, which is the most recent of the already numerous bodies devoted to the study, preservation and publication of Catholic church history, general or regional, in the United States. The editor of the new journal, Rev. M. M. Hoffman of Columbia College, Dubuque, comes fully qualified to his task, having already made searching studies in the field of Iowa Catholic history and embodied the results thereof in illuminating and highly readable published papers. To this inaugural number of the Iowa Catholic Historical Review, he contributes under the caption "From Early Iowa to Boston" a previously unpublished letter of Bishop Loras of Dubuque in which that prelate gives details of a journey to the eastern sea-board in 1846, incidently throwing new light on the curious episode of the Winnebago Mission, which Father Hoffman recounts with satisfying detail in the present issue of MID-AMERICA.

Other contents of the review are: "A Message from the President" (i. e. of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society, the Hon. Martin J. Wade of Iowa City), "H. V. Gildea, Pioneer Church Builder" by Rev. C. F. Griffith and "First Religious Ministrations on the Site of the Present City of Sioux City" by Msgr. Thomas J. McCarthy. Father Griffith's well documented article supplies informing details on the career of Hugh Vincent Gildea, church builder and co-worker with Father Mazzuchelli at Iowa City, and moreover establishes the interesting circumstance that the old capitol at Iowa City was built in part according to plans furnished by the famous Dominican missionary. Msgr. McCarthy's contribution discloses what was not previously known to local historians, that the earliest religious services on the site of Sioux City, Iowa, were conducted in 1850 by the pioneer Potawatomi missionary, Father Christian Hoecken, S. J. What is especially gratifying in the articles noted is the amount of altogether new data that is thus being gradually added to our existing stock of information on Catholic church history in the West. In the very first issue of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord, probably the most outstanding historian that the Middle-west has yet produced, wrote that only two things justify one in venturing into print on an

historical topic, the possession of new material or a really worth while re-statement and reinterpretation of old material. Editors of historical reviews are to be congratulated who can hold their contributors rigorously to this standard.

A demonstration in honor of Padre Eusebio Kino, the famous Jesuit missionary and explorer of the Spanish Southwest, took place at Tucson, Arizona, March 15, 1930, it being the two hundred and nineteenth anniversary of his death. Tucsonians generally, regardless of creed, took part in it and Dr. William John Tucker, professor of English at the University of Arizona, who presided over the meeting, spoke in part as follows:

"If you will come with me in spirit, I shall try to put before you a very beautiful and inspiring picture. Think back some 250 years and see a solitary horseman, followed by a pack-mule, pushing his way across the desert somewhere in southern Arizona. He has lost his way, and is trying to get back to the trail, with only his sense of direction for guide. I see the traveler dismount. He draws from his pocket a much worn book, and baring his head, kneels at the foot of a cruciform tree.

"Under his buckskin riding coat, he wears a black vest and the cravat and collar of a churchman. His bowed head is not that of an ordinary man—it is built for the seat of a fine intelligence. His brow is open, generous, reflective, his features handsome and somewhat severe. Everything about him shows him to be a man of gentle birth—brave, sensitive, courteous. His manners even when he is alone in the desert, are distinguished. He has a kind of courtesy toward himself, toward his beasts, toward the tree before which he kneels, and the God whom he is addressing.

"This man has thrown himself upon the hard heart of a country calculated to try the endurance of giants. He has thirsted in its deserts, starved among its rocks, climbed up and down its terrible canyons on stone-bruised feet, and broken long fasts by unclean and repugnant food. Surely he has endured hunger, thirsts, cold and nakedness, of a kind beyond any conception St. Paul and his brethren could have had. Whatever the early Christians suffered, it all happened in that safe little Mediterranean world, amid the old manners, the old landmarks. If they endured martyrdom, they died among their brethren, their relics were piously preserved, their names lived in the mouths of holy men. But this man has risked torture and death alone among infidels.

"Who is this traveler and for what purpose has he come? His name is Eusebio Francisco Kino and he has come from his home in the Austrian Tyrol, sacrificing everything near and dear to him, to plant the Cross of Christ in a pagan land.

"But though we think of Padre Kino first and foremost as a saintly missionary, he is even more than that. He is a great Christian statesman, a great explorer, and above all he is the great pioneer of our Southwestern civilization. As such he belongs to all of us—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, and sceptic. In very truth could Padre Kino say with Othello: 'I have done the State some service and they know it.'

"To this remarkable man is due the credit for first traversing in detail and accurately mapping the whole of Pimeria Alta, the name then applied to southern Arizona and northern Sonora. During his 24 years of residence at the mission of Dolores, he made more than fifty journeys inland, varying from more than a hundred to a thousand miles in length. They were all made either on foot or on horseback, through territory inhabited by unknown tribes who might have offered him personal violence. These routes were over forbidding, waterless wastes, which have since become the graveyards of scores of travelers who have died of thirst because they lacked his pioneering skill. In these journeys his energy and hardihood are almost beyond belief. No wonder Professor Bolton says that the good Padre's 'endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned Cowboy.' It was his custom to ride 30, 40, 50, and even 60 miles a day. And on one occasion he is said to have ridden 75 miles in one day to save the life of an Indian who had been sentenced to death.

"The work which Padre Kino did as a ranchman would alone make him worthy of remembrance. He was easily the cattle king of his day and region. The stock-raising industry of nearly 20 places on the modern map owes its beginnings to this tireless man. But it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain, for he did not own a single animal. It was to furnish a food supply for the Indians of his missions, and to give these missions a basis of economic prosperity and independence. In 1700, when the beautiful mission of San Xavier was founded, he rounded up the fourteen hundred head of cattle on the ranch of his own mission of Dolores, divided them into two equal droves, and sent one of them to Tucson.

"Aside from his search for souls, Padre Kino's most absorbing quest was made in search of a land route to California. In his university days he had been taught that California was a peninsula, and he had come to America firm in this belief; but in deference to public opinion, he gave up the idea and looked upon California as 'the largest island of the world.' But in one of his journeys an incident occurred that caused him to turn again to the peninsular theory. It was the gift, when near Yuma, of certain blue shells, such as he had seen on the Pacific coast, and there only. If the shells had come to the Yumas from the South Sea, he reasoned, must there not be a land connection with California and the ocean, by way of the Yuma country?"

In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for June appears a thirty-page carefully documented article written by Rev. George Paré of the Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, tracing the history of St. Joseph Mission on the river of the same name,—

the first Jesuit mission to be established in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan according to the writer. The furious raids of the Iroquois westward, beginning in 1648, had driven the Miami and Potawatomi tribes from this region and for the next forty years it was a No Man's Land. In 1689 a grant was made to Father Dablon and other Jesuits to establish a mission among the tribes who had ventured back to their former haunts, and a spot supposed to have been located on the banks of the St. Joseph River one to three miles south of the present city of Niles, Michigan, was selected. Just when this St. Joseph Mission was established is unknown, nor is it certain who was its founder. That he was Father Allouez is a statement that "rests more upon inference than upon evidence," according to Father Paré. There are two bits of evidence that he died, however, at this spot. One is that Father Charlevoix, who visited the Mission in 1721, writes that Father Allouez died on the St. Joseph River; the other is that the Indians told the first white settlers in the vicinity of Niles that a large wooden cross standing on a bluff near the river "marked the resting-place of a missionary and that it had been replaced as often as it had fallen from age and decay." We know that no other Jesuit of that time could have died at that spot.

In 1690 Father Aveneau came to St. Joseph Mission. He was followed by Father Chardon, who "knows every Indian language spoken on the Lakes," wrote Father Marest, who visited him there. A baptismal register has lately come to light in the archives of the Quebec Seminary of great value for the history of the Mission. It begins with an entry by Father Michael Guignas, dated August 15, 1720. The names on the register indicate that French traders had by that time settled in the region round about, among them Charles-Ange Collet, "probably the first native of Michigan to enter the priesthood," writes Father Paré. Father Charlevoix, as stated above, visited the Mission in 1721. Shortly afterwards Father Guignas was "summoned to the chair of hydrography at the College of Quebec"an eloquent testimony to the intellectual caliber of a missionary to Indians in this wilderness. Other Jesuits followed, among them Father Gibault, the "Patriot Priest" whose services to George Rogers Clark are well known. The last of the line of Jesuit missionaries at St. Joseph Mission was Father Potier, who was found dead before his fireplace in 1781. "The subsequent history of the locality becomes that of a French settlement clustered about Fort St. Joseph."

While we are in the field of Michigan history we may call attention to a paper by Sister Francis Stace, S. C., of Mount St. Joseph, Ohio, appearing in the spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine*, on "Michigan's Contribution to Literature." James Fenimore Cooper drew material for his novel *Oak Openings* from scenes on the St. Joseph River, which he visited.

In the March number of Chronicles of Oklahoma, issued by the Oklahoma Historical Society, article with the title, "Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers," written by Winifred Johnston, tells of the amusements-dances, songs and plays-by which the early explorers tried to maintain the morale-but hardly the morals-of their soldiery during their long and arduous marches through unexplored stretches of Mexico and our Southwest. Cortes's march across Yucatan in 1525 was so terrible that "forty years afterwards the memory of that march yet remained with his men." On the journey some of the entertainers died, "two falconers, five musicians, an acrobat and jugglers." A hundred and fifty years later Juan Bautista de Anza is pressing on toward Monterey, the goal of his expedition. Momentarily he halts to make camp at the edge of the great sand dunes of the Colorado Desert. "While the friars in the party," so we are told by Bolton in his Spanish Borderlands, "sought to convert the Yumas who thronged the camp, the soldiers, who had a fiddler with them, held nightly dances with the Indian girls, there in the rim of the desert, defying its menaces with their jollity. Such were the men who over the waterless Devil's Highway, through the Royal Pass to San Carlos, to San Gabriel and Monterey and back to Tubac, made the trail of the white men to cross the Sierras." Over the same trail, two years later, in 1775, to quote the article before us, "Anza led out from the Arizona post the first colony destined for San Francisco. Two hundred people comprised the party: soldiers, friars and thirty families. Ribbons for the women and children and for the hats and hair of the men were included in the list of essential provisions. A stop of six days was made at Yuma, where the first white settlement was made with the erection of a cabin for Fathers Garces and Eixarch and their servants." The friars rebuked even the leader of the expedition for permitting immoral songs and dances in camp. But

better forms of amusement were provided in the plays, which are among the earliest of those performed on the North American continent. Mary Austin, writing for Theatre Arts Monthly for August, 1929, claims to possess the manuscript of a play performed on the soil of the United States, July 10, 1598, "which is still performed on Holy Cross Day within ten miles of its original performance." Even an earlier performance, however, is that of a play "written by one of Oñate's men, Captain Marcos Farfan de los Godos. It was performed on April 30, 1598, on the river just below El Paso, where Oñate struck camp to take formal possession of the lands to the north and west for his Lord and his King." The ceremonial began with Mass and a sermon and closed with the performance of the play.

"On the Hennepin Trail" is the title of an address made before the Minnesota Historical Society on January 13, 1930, by Edward C. Gale, and published in the March number of Minnesota History. Mr. Gale seems to follow C. J. Bertrand's History of Ath, Belgium, the reputed birthplace of Father Hennepin, in his search of material on the famous explorer. He gives some data upon family history and presents in a frontispiece views of Rue Hennepin and of the Hennepin Pump erected to the memory of their fellow townsman by citizens of that place. Father Hennepin speaks of himself in one of his books as "a native of Ath in Hainault"; but Dr. Shea expressed some doubt about it. Born there probably in 1640, he originally bore the name Jean, which he changed to Louis upon entering the Recollect order of Franciscans. He early manifested a consuming interest in accounts of distant countries, and sought the docks to listen to the tales told of "remote places" by seamen, although "the smoak of tabacco was offensive to me and created pain in my stomach," as an early English translation of his own words puts it. In 1675 he was at last able to gratify his desire to travel and embarked at Rochelle for New France "on that voyage of discovery which was to put the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua on the map and make its discoverer famous," as Mr. Gale writes. This was his only voyage, from which he returned in 1681, and two years later his book entitled Description de la Louisiane was published at Paris and was widely read. If he had been content with the renown that came to him following its appearance, Mr. Gale thinks it would have been better for

his reputation. But Mr. Gale's espousal of the theory that the extravagant claim of having reached the mouth of the Mississippi, made by Father Hennepin in his two later works, and other questionable statements, are interpolations is not shared by historians generally. The writer of the article on Hennepin in the Catholic Encyclopedia, John W. Willis, says: "The weight of evidence is adverse to such a theory." In recent years the question has assumed the proportions of a serious historical problem. Father Jerome Goyens, a Franciscan Minor, has sought to rehabilitate the reputation of his Franciscan brother. His book has been examined by the Abbé H. A. Scott in a forty-seven page critique published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (3d series, vol. 21, section I, p. 113-160, 1927). So the question seems to be still debatable.

The two works that form the basis for attack are Hennepin's Nouvelle découverte d'un tres grand pays, first published at Utrecht in 1697; and his Nouveau voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe, published also at Utrecht in 1698. After Father Hennepin's return to Europe "he seems to have led a restless sort of a life, wandering from city to city and from country, now in one clerical post and now in another." He lost the favor of the French monarch and "the archives of the French Government contain an order from Louis XIV directing the governor of New France to arrest the famous missionary and traveller in case of his appearance in America and to send him home" (Cath. Encycl., vii, 27). Father Hennepin died probably at Rome soon after 1701. (Contributed by William Stetson Merrill, A. B., The John Crerar Library, Chicago.)

As this issue was about to go to press, the death was announced of Joseph J. Thompson, LL. D., first editor of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, now MID-AMERICA. An extended notice of Mr. Thompson's services to the *Review* will appear in our October issue.

BOOK REVIEWS

De Soto and the Conquistadores. By Theodore Maynard, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. XIII+297. \$3.50.

The first century of American history is a record of Spanish achievement. More than a hundred years passed after the discovery before either the French or English had planted a successful colony in the New World. Their colonial beginnings can with some justification be divided into periods of discovery, exploration, and settlement. No such division, however, is applicable to the Spanish activities, for settlements were made almost as rapidly as suitable regions were discovered. By 1600 the Spanish had occupied a vast area and had transplanted European civilization to America. History records no greater achievement within so short a period—an epic accomplishment awaiting the poet.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the Spanish were keenly conscious of their newly achieved nationality. Their courage and unity had been developed in the long struggle with the Moors and by the necessity of guarding their religion with jealous care. The crusading zeal was not consumed in victory, but found its outlet in the conquest of the Indies. Professor Maynard shows a sympathetic appreciation of this background and correctly portrays De Soto as one of the knightliest of those who bore the banners of Spain.

In 1519 De Soto, nineteen years of age, arrived in Castilla del Oro. He soon formed a partnership with Ponce de León and came under the tutelage of that interesting old scoundrel Pedrarias. De Soto was an apt pupil and doubtless did his share of slave hunting and the execution of orders which called for courage and blunted sensibilities. He found prosperity in Nicaragua and was able to assist in financing Pizarro's famous expedition into Peru. De Soto played an important role in that conquest and returned to Spain a very wealthy man. He was soon overcome by restlessness and embarked for America to explore Florida. His fame and wealth enabled him to enlist a goodly number of able men and to gather elaborate equipment. The tragic wanderings of the brave six hundred constitute the most colorful and significant part of De Soto's career.

Professor Maynard has written an interesting book. He shows that he has made careful use of the published sources and has made no extravagant claims for his hero. The book is a happy combination of scholarship and popular writing. It will not of course satisfy specialists in the field, and in a few sections the author appears to be struggling with his material; but books which tend to popularize sound views and liberal interpretations should receive a hearty welcome, and this book easily falls within such a class. Examples of doubtful statements or minor errors may be detected on pages 15, 17, 133, 154, 171, 229, and 243. The book contains an excellent bibliography, a good index, and several attractive illustrations taken from old drawings.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, Ph. D.

Pioneer Catholic Journalism. By Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., Ph. D., New York, The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1930, pp. X+221.

In this study of Catholic periodical literature Dr. Foik has rendered a valuable service to students of both the secular and ecclesiastical history of the United States. The period covered, 1809 to 1840, might well be called "the critical era" of the history of the Catholic Church in this country. Mainly as a result of immigration the Catholic population was growing rapidly. Though still small in numbers it was by no means insignificant. Being the heir to age-old traditions of suspicion, prejudice, and hatred it was subjected to occasional outbursts of mob violence, aided and abetted by pulpit and press. In spite of constitutional guarantees hostile forces were ever at work to abridge the liberty of Catholics. The history of pioneer Catholic journalism as traced in this work becomes a more or less gigantic struggle for civil and reglious liberty. "The whole disposition of Catholic journalism during these first decades seems to have been to promote harmony by removing from the pathway of Protestants the groundless prejudices and prepossessions which had grown into social barriers, due chiefly to the circulation of misrepresentation and calumnies by enemies of Catholicism in Europe, and to the supineness of the Catholic body in the face of such gross fabrications."

The general plan followed by the author is to trace the origin, scope, progress, and design of newspapers and magazines which were devoted wholly, or in part, to the interests of the Catholic Church in the United States. The forerunner of the distinctly Catholic press was the Irish national journal, which was established to maintain and defend the national and religious principles and convictions of citizens of Irish birth and extraction who were the first to experience and repel the assaults of the Puritan ascendancy in Church and State. Wherever data are available, the author presents a systematic account of the forty-three newspapers and magazines which arose during the period under consideration. Many were shortlived, others struggled along valiantly against heavy odds, and but two survived until the present day. These are the Catholic Telegraph founded in Cincinnati in 1831 and the Boston Pilot, which dates from 1836.

The Church at times had to contend against both internal and external foes. The canker of trusteeism and petty bickerings was scarcely less annoying than aggressive nativism. Under these circumstances the record of the Catholic press is neither dull nor ignoble. Thanks to the abundant quotations and the author's guidance we can follow the spirited controversies which characterized the period when Catholics needed able defenders and militant journalists to resist the assaults of fanatics from without, and intermeddling busybodies within the fold. Who can estimate how much the Church of the twentieth century owes to the vigorous and sometimes militant press of the first half of the nineteenth?

HUGH GRAHAM, Ph. D.

A History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica, B. W. I., 1494-1929. By Francis X. Delaney, S. J., Jesuit Mission Press, New York, 1930, pp. XI+292. \$2.50.

The author presents a modest disclaimer that his work is "not as pretentious nor as serious as the title would imply." Yet he would be the last to maintain that the stuff out of which history is made is always so terribly solemn. The chapter "An Historic Event" is proof of that. The history would suffer by the omission of this chapter for perhaps nowhere but in Jamaica could such an "Event" have happened. To call his volume "hardly more than a series of documents and notes," as the author does, is in the reviewer's opinion justified only in the case of the letter of Bishop O'Hare relative to the St. Januarius miracle witnessed at Naples. But this excursiveness or rather

expansiveness is forgiven for the author thereby makes us feel that history is largely made up of the doings of men and women surprisingly like ourselves.

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The first stroke of the author's pen pictures Jamaica, a tropical island, 144 by 40 miles, with nearly a million people, located in the Carribean Sea 90 miles south of Cuba, on the direct route from the Panama Canal to London and to New York. The second stroke gives us the discovery of this lovely isle by the Spaniards on May 3, 1494, a scant four months after the celebration of the first Mass in the New World, and then its capture May 10, 1655, under Cromwell's régime, by the English, who have held it ever since. The third and most striking element of the picture is the continuity which results from the unity and variety included in the Catholicity of the Church. That ecclesiastical continuity is not broken by the succession of absentee Titular Abbots, of Vicar Generals, and finally of Bishops, nor by the transfer of the spiritual charge of the island from the English to the Maryland-New York and lastly to the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, which Society since 1855 has had direct control of the Jamaican Mission.

In evidence of variety, a truly tropical variety, we witness Franciscans, Dominicans, a lone Benedictine, and Jesuits laboring in this tropical vineyard of the Lord. The variety in the nationality of its priests is even more striking, for we find Spanish, French, English, Irish, German, Portugese, Austrian, Belgian, American, and, at an early date, native Jamaican.

This copious variety overflows into other fields. We meet a Jamaican citizen who is a brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Browning, two nuns who bear the family name, and very likely a family relationship therewith, of St. Thomas Aquinas, and a priest with the family name of Shakespeare's wife, Hathaway. We see black imported slaves, among them one Catholic group with a marvelously preserved faith, and we see skilled native Indian workers, well paid. We see co-operation and good feeling between Catholic and non-Catholic. Church and State are in almost complete rapport on the problem of school support though a still further refinement of co-operation, looking to moral teaching, though without compulsion, in all schools of the island was untimely nipped in the bud by the World War. Religious societies galore flourish within the parishes.

The exceeding beauty of this isle may be somewhat offset by the major earthquakes, hurricanes and pestilences of its history; but its spirit does not succumb to them.

Commendable is the author's human touch, though we think that such things as the matter-of-fact glimpses he gives of the man in the government prisons will rather shock the sanctimonious among the moderns.

In reproducing the storied past the author's purpose to "keep fresh the memory of the men and women, lay as well as clerical, who have contributed their services and in many cases their lives, to the spread of the Faith in the Island," has about it a whiff of the atmosphere one breathes in the Epistles of St. Paul. An index and plentiful illustrations serve the author's purpose admirably. The author is fair to those who have left his own order. To the reviewer, standing on the sidelines, it almost seems that a milder interpretation of the description by Sir Hans Sloane (pp. 8-9) could reconcile his account with the facts given.

DAMIAN LEANDER CUMMINS, O. S. B., A. M.

New York in the American Revolution. By Wilbur C. Abbott, Professor of History, Harvard University. Illustrations Selected by Victor H. P. Paltsits, Chief of American History Division, New York Public Library. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, pp. XIII+302. \$3.50.

This volume, the work of a student of American but more especially of European history, treats of the part played by New York City in the Revolutionary period, from 1763 to 1783. The book is divided, chronologically and topically, into two parts. The first half describes the critical events and movements leading up to the establishment of independence. The attitude of the New Yorkers toward the Stamp Act is vividly developed by the use of quotations from the primary sources, including letters of eye-witnesses and public bulletins. The opposition of the newspapers to the Act is regarded as a "minor revolution." The New York papers were "unlicensed and uncensored." Then follows a discussion of the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. This part is but a repetition of earlier works on the same subject and is extremely uninteresting and poorly organized.

The second half begins with the War and ends with the evacuation of the city by the British troops in 1783. Strangely enough, hardly one page is given to the American prisoners in New York during the occupation. On the other hand generous space is devoted to the daily life of the army of occupation, to newspapers and to the social circles of the city. During the later years of the occupation living conditions became very unbearable. The population grew from 17,000 to 30,000. Poverty became a serious problem. Food "grew scarcer and more expensive " "Tea was 18s. a pound. Grain, after the first years of the war, was brought largely from Ireland." The narrative ends with the evacuation. A very dull description of the ceremonies attached to the formal withdrawal of the English soldiers is given. The author even goes into details when he pictures Washington's farewell to his officers in the Long Room of Fraunces' Tavern. Several other incidents are faithfully related.

Scholarship is in evidence throughout the work. At the end of the book a bibliography of one hundred references divided into contemporary and later writings affords ample opportunity for securing more materials. Although the text is for the general reader, it is unfortunate that so few footnotes appear. Fourteen illustrations, some of them rare and never before used in history books, serve to render the volume more popular and interesting. The work is not very original, in fact, many choice selections are taken from familiar secondary works. But the new facts Professor Abbott's book does present joined with a rich interpretation of previous works on the same subject will make the prominence New York City had in the Revolution better recognized and appreciated by students of this period of American history. Its clearness, simplicity, historical accuracy and impartiality appeal both to the general and special student of the Revolution.

GEORGE F. DONOVAN, A. M.

Growing with the West: the Story of a Busy, Quiet Life. By John M. Stahl, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1930, pp. X+515. \$5.00.

Some years ago after reading *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, we concluded that the title did not do justice to the book. America did not remake Edward Bok; on the contrary,

Edward Bok exercised a wide influence on American life. His autobiography should have been entitled: The Bokization of America. A similar conclusion was reached after reading the volume of Mr. Stahl. His book should not be entitled: Growing with the West, but Showing the West how to Grow.

The principal interest of this autobiography is the influence of one man in moulding public opinion and initiating movements which tended to aid whole sections of the country. He had exceptional advantages of observing the obstacles to the advancement of the Mississippi Valley and he set himself squarely to the task of doing more than his part in mastering the difficulties. As a writer and publisher from his early years, he lost no opportunity to carry forward a movement of which he saw the importance.

Now that we have free rural delivery and parcel post, it is easy to enjoy the benefits and not pause to think of the labor in bringing about these advantages. We are apt to attribute the introduction of such changes to the wisdom of law makers or government officials; but it required men of the stamp of John M. Stahl to understand the needs of such reforms and to devise means of bringing legislation to solve them. The long and untiring fight of Mr. Stahl for rural delivery and parcel post is an interesting story in the building of the great West and North West. But his influence went into the farthest part of the South, and while he saw the needs of the Mississippi Valley first, he carried his cause to every section of the land.

The campaign for parcel post and free rural delivery could not meet with success unless there was a decided improvement in country roads; and to the program of good roads Mr. Stahl lent his wide experience and enthusiasm. His work was always thorough and scientific. When he toured the country, pleading for Federal and State aid in the construction of roads, he was prepared to answer every difficulty. He could point out the best methods of construction, as shown by the long experience of European countries; he knew the cost of materials; he understood the best and cheapest ways of construction. He won his cause for good roads just as he had won his fight for free delivery of mail.

Sociologists lay great stress upon creating the "social mind." The people must become "like-minded" before a great movement can succeed. Mr. Stahl was a good sociologist. He knew how

to conduct a well-planned campaign, a campaign that worked slowly, but carried the people with it and created the "social mind" for good roads and free rural delivery of mails. Of his methods and success he tells us in this autobiography.

But Mr. Stahl did not limit his experience to farmers and politicians. He sought out the leading writers of his time and locality; and while he enjoyed the literary productions of his contemporaries, he read with eagerness the English classics and

Greek philosophers.

Some readers may find the many details of the author's early life too minute to be interesting. Any one who has a fair knowledge of the early history of Illinois will be amused at Mr. Stahl's ignorance of the first settlers who, according to him, "were Jesuit missionaries possessed by a grotesque and pathetic, yet admirable and glorious, fanaticism." He goes on to discuss the rather novel question as to whether the Trappists or the Jesuits were the first settlers in Illinois. We cannot correct all the mistakes on pages 31 and 32: but if a new edition of the book should appear, we suggest that he entirely rewrite these two pages. The value of the book would have been greatly enhanced by a good index.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

Life of Mother Catherine Aurelia of the Precious Blood, Foundress of the Institute of the Precious Blood, 1833-1905, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis, Mo. \$2.50.

There is something like an inundation of the literary field by biographical publications: lives of warriors, statesmen, politicians, queens and kings and emperors, poets, dramatists, actors, musical composers and celebrities from all the walks of life, good, bad and indifferent. We have not the heart to deplore this patent fact except in as far as the multiplicity of such writings is liable to discourage the reading of what is really worth while. The biography of Mother Catherine Aurelia is really worth while both in regard to its subject and its literary treatment. If there were any doubt about this it would be dispelled by the fact that the distinguished writer on spiritual and mystical subjects, Father A. M. Skelly, O. P., has written a fine introduction to the book. The name of the author is not given, but it is a member of the Institute of the Precious Blood. Ninety-three years ago this coming July 11 there was born in

the city of St. Hyacinth, Providence of Quebec, a girl that was baptized Aurelia; her family name was Caouette. Her home was a happy one, thoroughly Christian, full of faith and piety. Aurelia was the eighth child in the order of birth but she soon proved herself to be the child of benediction "in the family." At the age of nine years she made her First Holy Communion. She was a model of simplicity, sweetness and piety, serious during school hours, joyous of heart and full of witty sayings in time of relaxation. She early manifested a decided attachment to her own ideas. She was quick tempered but she made earnest and serious efforts to master herself. She was a thoroughly human girl, kind hearted, gracious and loving, realizing her faults in the spirit of humility and thus becoming through grace the center of admiration and affection to all who came in contact with her. How this lovely and lovable girl became in union with Bishop La Roque the Mother Foundress of the contemplative Order of the Precious Blood (1861) is shown step by step in these absorbingly interesting chapters. The Institute of Mother Catherine Aurelia has a number of houses in Canada, United States, Cuba, and Rome.

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

The Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph. By Sister Mary Cortona Gloden, B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo., 1928. \$3.50.

The religious community whose rise and development are so ably described in the twenty-three chapters of this book is an offshoot of the French Sisters of the Holy Cross of Strasbourg. Its origin was peculiar in more than one sense. The birthplace was a predominantly Protestant city of Northern Germany, the historic town of Herford, at that time counting 12,000 inhabitants. In 1836 the Rev. Bernard Heising was appointed pastor of the Catholic congregation at Herford and soon afterwards Dean of Bielefeld. As usual in such Protestant communities, the Catholics were scattered and generally of the poorer class. The zealous Dean found many orphan children that required his care. He placed some of them in good Catholic families and others in Catholic institutions. But his means were limited and the demand continued to grow. He decided to found an orphan asylum under the care of some Sisterhood that might at some future days take charge of a Catholic hospital also. He bought a large private residence and a warehouse and transformed them into

a convent for the Sisters and a home for the orphans. In 1852 he made application for Sisters at Heitheisen, received them in 1858 and lost them within two years. Nothing daunted by this first reverse, Father Heising asked for Sisters of the Holy Cross at Strasbourg and obtained them January 15, 1860. On February 3 of that year four Sisters of the Holy Cross began their labor of love in the convent and orphanage of Bethlehem in Herford. Eventually the Superior, Sister M. Xavier, with the approval of Bishop Conrad Mavlin of Paderborn and the consent of her superior at Strasbourg established a new congregation of Sisters with their Motherhouse at Herford. The Austria-Prussian War in 1866 gave the Sisters a great opportunity of nursing the sick and wounded. So far they had not taken any vows, the Sister Superior had invested them and their life was the regular one ordinarily followed by religious. Late in 1866 the community adopted the rule of Franciscan Tertiaries. On February 11, 1868, sixteen members received the habit of episcopal authority. The congregation of the "Poor Sisters of Mercy of the Third Order of St. Francis" was an established fact. The membership increased rapidly. The year 1870 brought another great opportunity of service to the sick and wounded, two of their number falling victims of the war. The "Iron Cross" was bestowed upon the Sister-nurses for distinguished services to the Fatherland; but it was soon followed by the heavy and bitter cross of persecution and exile. The so-called "Kulturkampf" had set in making life unbearable for the Sisters.

In 1869 the Superior became acquainted with an American priest, Father William Emonds of Iowa City, Iowa. To him she directed inquiries whether her whole community could find refuge in America. The zealous priest gladly extended an invitation to them to come to Iowa City. Father Heising in Herford obtained the services of a few pious matrons for his orphanage, and so the Sisters could depart without too heavy misgivings.

The Bishop himself was a prisoner in the fortress of Wesel and from his cell he gave the Sisters a letter of introduction to Bishop John Hennessy of Dubuque. On Friday, August 20, 1870, the entire community, 30 in number, assembled for the last time in the chapel of this house of Bethlehem and then started on their long journey to their new home across the sea. On September 5 they set foot on American soil.

This is a brief account of the rise of a Catholic sisterhood that has done so much good in the State of Iowa. The sixteen chapters describing the various stages of this development are full of interest. The literary execution of the work is excellent. The author of the book, Sister Mary Cortona Gloden, did not live to see the publication of what must be regarded a monument to her beloved sisterhood, as also to her own name and fame. The firm of B. Herder Book Co. has done its best to make the work acceptable to all lovers of good literature.

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

The Cross in the Wilderness: A Biography of Pioneer Ohio. By Sister Monica, O. S. U., Ph. D., Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1930, pp. XII+290. \$3.50.

No common-place man or woman ever founded a religious community. If such a person ever had the thought, the first month of endeavor would wipe the desire from mind. Only he, or she, strong of heart, clear of head, and firm of will, and in whom burned the divine unrest, ever succeeded.

Why then the written story of a religious foundation should be so consistently dull will continue to be another of life's ironies. There is not another organization, unless it be the home, which presents the same gamut of joys and sorrows. The step from the sublime to the ridiculous is no where else as constantly present. The fault lies not in the story, but in the teller of the tale.

In southern Ohio, not far from Cincinnati, and not many miles from the Ohio River, is a community of Ursuline nuns. Locally, and to their friends in distant places, they are known as "the Brown County Ursulines." Numerically it has never been a large community, and its sphere of influence has been consequently circumscribed. For all that, it has a story and when the long day is finished its work will bear the "imprimatur" of the recording angel.

One of these nuns, anonymous to the world as Sister Monica, has told the story of this Brown County foundation. It had its beginning in Victorian England in the twenties of the last century. Thence it moved to France, and after a time, across the Atlantic, and out to the land about Solomon's Run in the Ohio country.

Other foundations have had more adventurous beginnings, greater hardships, even the glorious privilege of having been watered with the blood of martyrdom, but few others have had a Sister Monica to tell their story.

In words which run as swift, as smooth, as clear, as never ran the waters of Solomon's Run she has told the story of Julia Chatfield, the English girl who came to Ohio by way of France and established a house of Ursuline nuns.

This was in the forties when John Baptist Purcell was in his prime; known, loved, and respected in Europe as in America. In the old seminary in Brown County beyond Cincinnati he settled this strange little community, eight of whose eleven members were Frenchwomen. Many were the plans which were discussed and came to naught, and here it was the will of God they were to remain and carry on their work.

Sister Monica has told all this and more. She has, with understanding and charm, pictured pioneer life as it was lived in southern Ohio in the first half of the last century. Standing with her beneath "the Cross in the Wilderness," we see them pass down the road and into the twilight,—Purcell, Lamy, Machebeuf, Rosecrans, Spalding, Badin, and those others who are now but names; Julia Chatfield and the other ten; the daughters of the North and of the South; those who traveled the "underground railway" and those who pursued them; even Morgan and his hard riding men of the South. If Sister Monica has not made them live again for us, she has deftly lifted us back to their day.

WILLIAM L. REENAN, A. B.

Cote Sans Dessein: A History. By Ovid Bell, Fulton, Mo., published by the Author, 1930, pp. 98. \$2.00.

In this small book are preserved the records and traditions of one of the early out-posts of American national development. To have put these historical facts into a permanent form by a careful study of widely scattered sources and while it was still possible to incorporate the memoirs of some of the old settlers of the place is a work for which the author deserves great credit. His subject, too, is worthy of the effort expended in preserving its history. Cote sans Dessein was for two years "Farthest West" in the United States (p. 9) and in 1821 was

considered favorably for the permanent seat of government of Missouri (pp. 58-78).

The method followed in this study has been to consider first the settlement and the names of the first settlers after which an interesting picture of the Indian attack in 1815 is presented. The question of Land Titles and the location of the State Capital are treated in the last two chapters of the book. Appendix A gives the reader the original grant of Delassus to Duchoquette of the land where the town stood. Four other short appendices embody contemporary accounts of the battle with the Indians. There is a good index.

In speaking of some discrepancies which he has found in the sources consulted the author, so he says, feels that "the general picture, as obtained from all the authorities, is sufficient for all necessary purposes" (p. 16, note 21). By including "all the authorities" he could find, one feels that more has been done than to simply give a "general picture" and that we have in Cote sans Dessein a repository of data which will aid any student of this part of our western frontier.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S. J., A. M.

The Coming Age and The Catholic Church. By William Barry, D. D., Hon. Canon of St. Chad's, Birmingham; Protonotary Apostolic; Author of "Roma Sacra," etc.; sometime Oscott Professor of Theology, Rome. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1930, pp. 224. \$2.50.

Canon Barry was at Rome as a student on September 20, 1870, and witnessed the surrender of the Papal City to the Italian forces. He says of that event that it "was the climacteric year which ushered in the twentieth century without waiting for the Kalendar." Since then the Church has seen the fall of more dynasties than has ever been known before in so short a period. The new democratic era is the Church's golden opportunity. The Eastern Orthodox Church is without a head, the Sultans have gone for ever, the castes of India are breaking down under pressure of Western ideas, the way is open everywhere for missionary enterprise. In the English-speaking world a fortunate series of events, the scattering of the Irish, the victory of Milner over the old English Catholics, the self-

destruction brought about by the suicidal methods of birth control, have all helped to increase the influence of Catholicism and to pave the way for the future. The machinery is there in pilgrimages, Eucharistic Congresses, the Catholic Truth Society, Rescue Homes, Orphanages, and Charitable Institutions.

A "second Spring" has just been heralded by the Golden Jubilee of Piux XI and the reconciliation of the Pope and Italy. The Canon asks for volunteers. "We are debtors to all men, to East and West, to the Negroes of Darkest Africa, to India, China, Japan. The hour long delayed is here. Arise and let us go forth."

HERBERT H. COULSON, A. M.

The Catholic Periodical Index: A Catholic Magazine Index. (Volume I, March, 1930, Number I.) Edited by Francis E. Fitzgerald, Chairman, Library Section, National Catholic Educational Association, Librarian, St. Thomas College, Scranton, Pennsylvania, assisted by Marion Barrows, (The Catholic Periodical Index), and Sister Mary Reparata, Librarian, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois. Library Section, National Catholic Educational Association, Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1930.

A movement starting many years back for the publication of a guide to current Catholic periodical literature reaches its happy culmination in the appearance of this skillfully prepared index, which in technical make-up leaves nothing to be desired, being issued by the leading American firm in the field of magazine indexing, the H. H. Wilson Company of New York. Readers of MID-AMERICA will be pleased to know that this magazine is among the thirty-six Catholic periodicals indexed.

"This new guide will appear quarterly in March, June, and September and will cumulate material annually in the December quarterly number. The contents of thirty-six Catholic periodicals of reference value are included in this issue; six others are in preparation for the June issue. More will be added as facilities permit including periodicals in the leading continental languages. The Catholic Periodical Index is an author and subject index in one alphabet, similar to other types of magazine indexes. This indexing service is now available for the first time after many years of planning by leading Catholic librarians, and should be of value to the libraries of schools, colleges, and universities, as well as public libraries.

The Catholic Periodical Index opens up a new field of study to students and research workers. Through its use the reader is enabled to locate

readily material on a given subject or author and learn the exact place where the material can be found. It serves as a key to the contents of the periodicals included therefore. This service will be particularly valuable to writers and speakers as well as reference librarians.

In issuing the Catholic Periodical Index, the Library Section of the National Catholic Educational Association wishes to bring its services within the reach of even the smallest school library. The price has been arranged on a sliding scale, or service-basis, by which large libraries receiving more of the periodicals indexed pay more than the smaller libraries with fewer periodicals."

St. Peter's Parish, Keokuk, Iowa, 1832-1929. By C. F. Griffith, Saint Ambrose College [Davenport, Iowa]. (The Iowa Catholic Historical Society Collections, Number Two, pp. 80.)

This excellent parish history embodies as its introductory section the article "Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa" contributed by Father Griffith to the April, 1930, issue of MID-AMERICA. The booklet is illustrated and the parish story brought up to date and rounded off with an imposing list of priests and nuns furnished by St. Peter's to the service of the Church. The narrative is not concerned merely with a single parish; it covers the beginning of the Church in Keokuk and indeed in all of southeastern Iowa. Nor is the narrative a mere compilation from printed sources. The author has been busy with first-hand research and has apparently utilized all the available manuscript material on his subject, the result being the bringing to light of important and hitherto unpublished data on the history of the Church in the West. Thus he has made it clear that Father Van Quickenborne was the first Catholic priest in the nineteenth century known to have ministered to the Catholics of Iowa. To Father Griffith as to his colleague in the new Catholic historical movement in Iowa, Father Hoffman of Dubuque, one confidently looks forward to the eventual telling, on a scale worthy of the subject, of the history of the Catholic Church in that great commonwealth.

G. J. G.

The Romantic Story of Schoenbrunn, the First Town in Ohio. By Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, President of the Tuscarawas County Historical Association, Dover, Ohio, 1929, pp. 31, ill.

This is a highly interesting account of the eighteenth century work of the pioneer Moravian missionaries in the Valley of the

Muskingum. Under the leadership of the Rev. David Zeisberger a town, Schoenbrunn by name, was laid out as early as 1772 by Moravian immigrants on a spot on the Muskingum now within the limits of Tuscarawas County, Ohio. This, it is claimed, is the oldest known town in Ohio, the church, built in 1773, being "in all probability the first Protestant church in the United States west of the Ohio River" (p. 13), while the schoolhouse, also built in 1773, was, it would appear, "the first schoolhouse in the entire Northwest Territory." A second town Gnadenhutten, also on the Muskingum, was built in 1772 and here, on March 8, 1782, ninety Christian Indians, converts of the missionaries, were massacred in cold blood by a party of Americans under Colonel Williamson. Attempts have been made to excuse the atrocious deed but without avail. It remains the greatest black spot on Ohio history, having stirred the indignation of historians, especially Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote that "even now a just man's blood boils in his veins at its remembrance." The site of Schoenbrunn, lost for 146 years, has been recently discovered, the town with church, school, and other buildings restored in replica, and the place acquired by the State to be preserved as Schoenbrunn Memorial Park.

G. J. G.

Pierre Menard, Pioneer. By Sarah Bond Hanley. Reprinted from the Illinois Blue Book, Springfield, Illinois, 1928, pp. 8.

Introduced by Sarah Bond Hanley, the author of this sketch, a bill passed the fifty-fifth assembly of Illinois providing for the acquisition by the State of the Pierre Menard home and some of its furnishings. This historic mansion, dating from 1802, stands on the east side of the Kaskaskia River at the foot of the bluffs and across from the one-time site of old Kaskaskia, most famous of the pioneer settlements of Illinois, and now buried beneath the waters of the Mississippi. It is not merely because the Menard mansion is almost the only surviving example of French domestic architecture of the French period of Illinois history that the commonwealth has been at pains to acquire it; the measure is to be interpreted especially as a determination to preserve the memory of the original owner of the mansion, a distinguished citizen of Illinois in the pioneer days, its first Lieutenant-Governor and the recipient, besides, of an imposing series of honorable public offices civil, military, and judicial.

No name in the opening days of Illinois statehood stood higher than that of Pierre Menard. His Canadian origin probably debarred him from the Governorship; but the framers of the Illinois Constitution actually inserted a clause with the direct intention of overcoming certain limitations Pierre Menard was under as to the period of his naturalization and thus make it possible for him to become Lieutenant-Governor.

This distinguished Catholic layman and citizen, who had surely in the old Roman phrase "deserved well of the commonwealth," lies, we are told by the author of this sketch, in an unmarked grave, "without even so much as a wooden cross to designate the sacred spot nor a Prairie Rose to save it from the noisome weeds."

G. J. G.

Life in Old Vincennes. By Lee Burns, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume 8, Number 9, Indianapolis, 1929, pp. 23.

This is an interesting attempt to reconstruct the life that ebbed and flowed in Indiana's most historic town in the decades immediately following the American occupation by George Rogers Clark. The manners and customs of the French habitants, the ways of the early American residents, the log-houses "with a central hall running through from front to rear and a piazza that in many cases ran entirely around the building," taverns, printing presses, pioneer attempts at organized education, early elections and laws, a circulating library of 248 volumes installed as early as 1809 in the famous Harrison mansion—these are among the topics one finds touched on in this carefully prepared study. Footnotes to the number of sixty-one indicate the extent of the author's researches, which, while not utilizing manuscript material, have taken account of the bulk if not all of extant printed contemporary sources on the subject.

In view of recent discussions among historians as to the real significance of Clark's so-called conquest of the Northwest the author would appear to be a whit dogmatic when he writes in the opening sentence of the sketch: "As a result of the brilliant campaign of George Rogers Clark and his little army of less than 150 men the territory Northwest of this river was given to the United States by the treaty of peace that ended the War of the Revolution."

History of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, Somonauk, Illinois, 1929, pp. 63.

Somonauk in DeKalk County, Illinois, in the pleasant bosom of the Fox River Valley is a town of venerable age as ages go in the none too ancient region of the Middle West. The first settlers came in the mid-decades of the past century, data about these pioneer families filling several pages of this interesting booklet. Family history and genealogical details often have an interest that is more than local, for it is from just such details that the larger story of Catholic diocesan growth in the United States must often borrow actuality and color. The first parish organization of Somonauk was effected in 1863, which was twenty-five years after the arrival of the first Catholic settlers in the neighborhood. In 1865 the first non-resident pastor, Rev. Dominic Niederkorn, S. J., began to visit Somonauk from Chicago once a month, the church records with entries over his name all beginning in that year. Father Niederkorn and after him other Jesuits from Chicago were in charge of the parish until the arrival in 1869 of Rev. Caspar J. Huth, the first resident pastor. The present pastor of Somonauk is the Rev. C. J. Kirkfleet of the Order of Premonstratensians, who in this booklet has put the parish story interestingly on record.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

- M. Georges Rigault has collaborated with M. Georges Goyau of the French Academy in editing a volume of studies and documentary sources on the "Martyrs of New France," from which the article in the present issue is reproduced.
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